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THE
LIFE OF

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CARDINAL RICHELIEU





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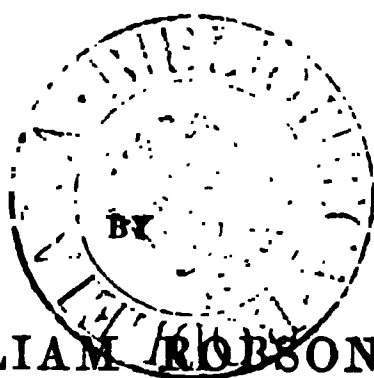


Front.

210. 2. 359.



THE LIFE
OF
CARDINAL RICHELIEU.



WILLIAM ROBSON,

TRANSLATOR OF MICHAUD'S "HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES," ETC. ETC.

With numerous Illustrations.

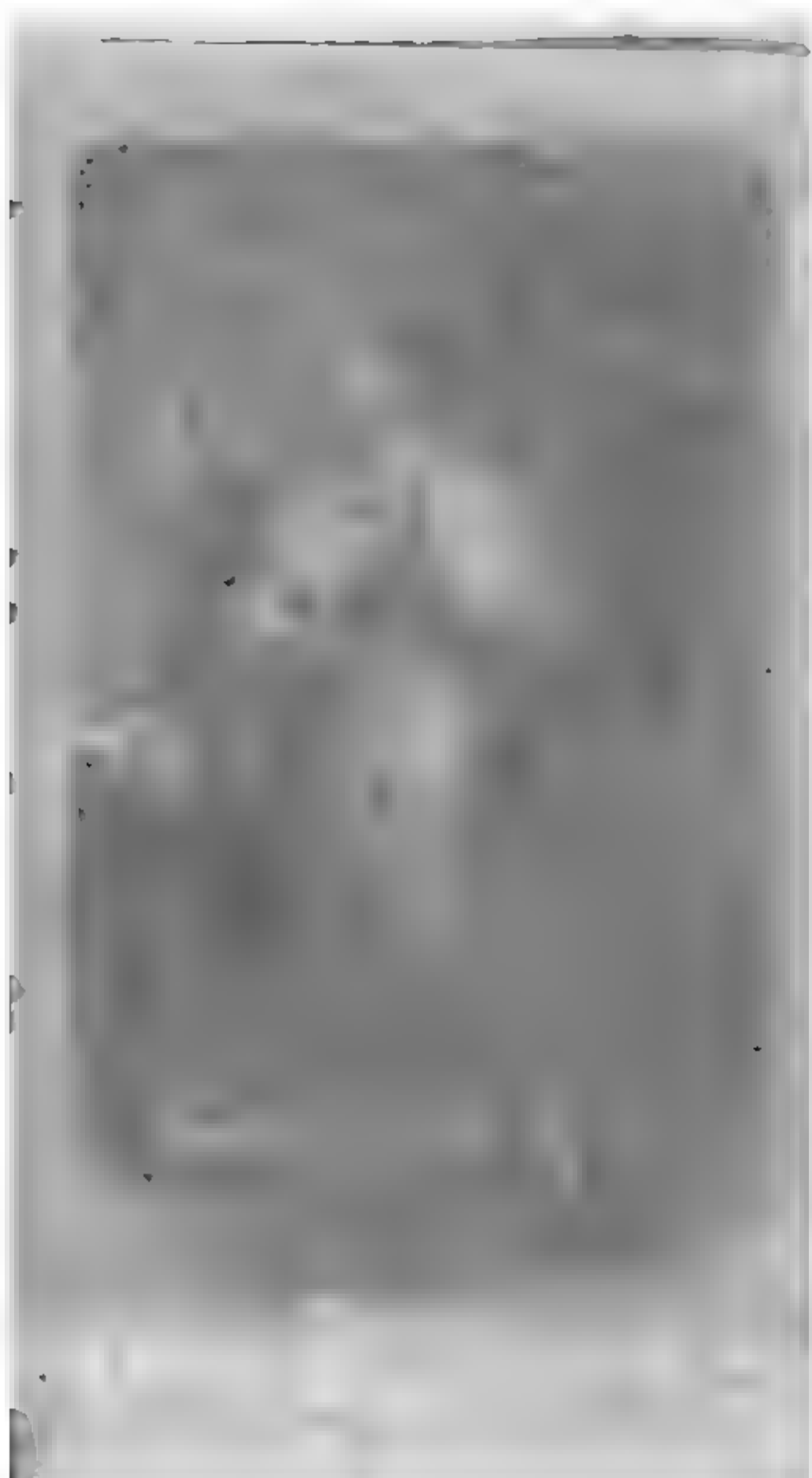
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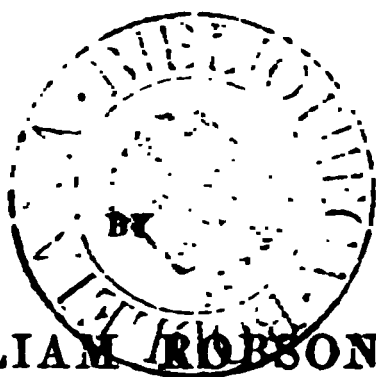


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PREFACE.

WHEN undertaking to write a life of Cardinal Richelieu, I was quite sufficiently impressed with the difficulties of the task. In the first place, I knew that no one should attempt to give an account of the actions of any distinguished character, without making an earnest and unprejudiced inquiry into the motives, the carrying out, and the results of them ; in the next, I believe that there exists no such extraordinary discrepancy in the materials at command, respecting the history of any person, as in the instance of Richelieu. With some writers he is above humanity,—with at least as many, far beneath it ; and lastly, the man, his policy, his power, together with the personages he was mixed up with, and the times he lived in, have proved so attractive to novelists and play-writers, that Richelieu has taken a place and a colouring in the minds of general readers, which no sober and honest biographer can hope to remove or equal.

For the actions of this world-famed minister I have gone to every authority available, whether written *contemporaneously or subsequently*. Fortunately, in

addition to numerous express accounts of him, at his period memoirs began to abound ; and of these I have made free, but cautious use. Memoirs are esteemed, and justly, great assistants to modern history ; but at the same time there is no evidence we should be more careful in admitting. There are, necessarily, more personal biases in private memoirs than in any other description of writing that can be consulted as history. After examining several of the established biographies of the Cardinal, I adopted Le Clerc as the best guide in the course of the events ; and I was led the more readily to do so from finding him moderate though liberal, and whilst expressing abhorrence for the Cardinal's enormities, fully acknowledging his merits as a minister. To reconcile the discrepancies was a thing impossible ; therefore the only way was to submit the clashing accounts to the test of history. The results of the actions of such a man as Richelieu afford us a clearer and sounder knowledge of them than the relations of prejudiced party writers can do. As regards the misleading halo of romance, with which the name is surrounded, I happen to be somewhat fortunately placed ; for, with the exception of Dumas' "Three Musketeers," which, notwithstanding numerous faults, is strikingly correct as to the characters and the period, I never read or saw either novel or play of which Richelieu was the hero. But though "fancy free" myself, I have great dread that my hearers may not be so, and that they will take up a life of Richelieu with the expectation of being excited in every page. Now no man more completely belongs to the history *of his times* than he does ; you can no more separate

Armand Jean Du Plessis, Cardinal-duke de Richelieu, from Louis XIII. of France, than you can think of Castor without Pollux, Abelard without Héloïse, or Romeo without Juliet ; and of all the sovereigns that ever existed, Louis XIII. was one of the most vapid and uninteresting. Faust was not a fool, therefore the machinations of Mephistophiles are worth watching ; but Louis was a pipe that might have been played on by much less skilful performers than Richelieu. Besides, a minister has not only to weave or to unravel court cabals, to thwart amorous intrigues, and terrify all around him with his mysterious power ; he must be a financier, and be versed in the dull arcana of foreign diplomacy. Richelieu had not only to foil Buckingham or the Duchess de Chevreuse,—he had to observe and compete with Oxenstiern, Grotius, and Olivarez : he had not only to display splendour in himself and his nominal master,—he had to rack the peasantry and oppress all the middle classes to obtain means to pay for it. I only draw attention to these circumstances for the purpose of reminding my readers that they must not look for a romance ; but at the same time if they feel a rational desire to be made acquainted with the history of a man, eminently remarkable in himself, and exceedingly influential upon his nation, I feel but little apprehension in laying the following pages before them. With respect to my own observations, scattered through the work, I have given utterance to them, naturally, as the events of my story came under my pen. I had no prejudice against Richelieu before I became thoroughly acquainted with *his character* ; but I flatter myself that

every well-toned mind, at the conclusion of the book, will agree with me in pronouncing him more remarkable for his abuses of power than for his ability in obtaining or preserving it.

W. R.

April, 1854.



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LIFE OF RICHELIEU.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS.

Few names have acquired such universal celebrity as that of Richelieu ; so much so, that with most who hear it and repeat it, it is nothing but a myth symbolising ambition and crooked policy ; though rendered familiar to them by the poet, the romancer, and the orator, they yet know but little of the king he lived under and ruled over, or of the real acts by which he distinguished himself. Striking incidents of a life marked by a most extraordinary course of circumstances have been seized upon by popular authors, and coloured and distorted according to their opinions or the object of their writings, leaving general readers worse than ignorant of the man and his actions.

Richelieu is one of those extraordinary characters who, though not placed in an exalted position by the accident of birth, have, by the exercise of the powers bestowed upon them by their Creator, elevated themselves unto the rulers, guides, and, we may say, destinies of their fellow-men.

Richelieu, again, has to take rank among, and be compared with the few who have either seized or won the sceptre from the hands of royalty, and have governed despotically in the name of an indolent or imbecile master. If success or long retention of position be taken as the tests, in this category he will be found to be the highest. *Sejanus ventured his head in the lion's mouth, when he*

allowed Tiberius to be held up to ridicule on the stage ; he found, though the ferocious beast might be so enervated by vice and luxury as to allow him to be a sub-tyrant to his people, it was not safe to sport with royal weaknesses. Wolsey, in the same way, whilst subservient to the will and passions of his master, might plunder his subjects with impunity ; but the moment he, in the too anxious prosecution of his own ambition, presumed to thwart, even by opinion, the lust of the headstrong monarch, his pile of wealth only served as a stimulus and an excuse for his downfall. Mazarin's reign was, in conjunction with a woman of moderate intellect, over a child ; and, though he endeavoured to perpetuate his power by studiously neglecting the education of his pupil, he only just died in time to avoid discovering, to his cost, the vast difference between Louis XIV. and his father. But Richelieu, when he had once firmly grasped the reins, never relaxed his hold : trying circumstances might, more than once, make them appear to tremble in his hands ; but we do not believe he at any time lost his self-possession, or despaired of recovering his domination over the weak-minded king. He knew that he had taught Louis to feel as well as to think that he could not do without him, and therein consisted his security. That the king was sometimes weary of his slavery,—as what slave, however happy, is not ?—we can well believe ; but we can fancy no man more destitute than Louis XIII. would have felt when he awoke the morning after he had dismissed Richelieu. It is true he only breathed an insult over his minister's corpse ; but he had recently lost his mother, he himself was fast sinking into his grave, and it might look like a prospect of dying in peace to be liberated from a control which had so many years held him in awe.

But there is still another phase in which the life of Richelieu may be advantageously contemplated, although *Becket*, *Wolsey*, *Ximenes*, *Mazarin*, *Alberoni*, and *Fleury*

form parts of the picture ; we mean that of what we consider to be the utterly incompatible combination of the churchman and the statesman ; of a man who, devoted nominally to God and the superintendence of the simplest and purest religion the world has ever seen, has been led by ambition or circumstances to deviate from his proper, holy path, and mingle things sacred with mundane interests and mundane ambition. Ximenes may stand out nobly from this group, and Fleury comparatively harmlessly ; but the land of the Inquisition was so completely a monk-ridden nation that Church government seemed most natural to it, and Fleury is so mixed up with all that is vile, that he cannot quite escape the stains of contact. Dubois is too contemptible in all ways to be named with the above, for though more than one of them were desecrated by errors, if not crimes, they were not, as he was, the mere offspring of corruption. There is one of this class to whom we feel anxious to pay a tribute of the highest respect ; but the abbé Suger, the wise and good minister of Louis VII., lived at a period when the Church possessed most of the knowledge that existed, and princes and peoples fell naturally under the direction of churchmen, as the ignorant seek the guidance of the wise. But Richelieu was more a statesman than a cardinal ; he never allowed Church influence to interfere with affairs of state, except when he thought it could assist them. He was ambitious of a cardinal's hat, because, being a churchman, that was the highest honour but one he could aspire to ; for that one honour we feel assured he had no wish ; he would much rather have chosen to rule the rich kingdom of France and its imbecile king, than to be seated in the uneasy Papal chair, with the sovereignty of the beggarly states subservient to it. His persecution of the Huguenots, as we shall plainly see in the following pages, was dictated by policy, not by his religion or position in the Church ; and *although we may be disgusted at some of*

the cruelties that attended it, we cannot deny the soundness of that policy. It is true that whilst endeavouring to extirpate the Protestants in France, he was assisting them in Germany; but Francis I., who was a king over all, and not a churchman, and who had not half the excuse that Richelieu had, did the same, and even treated the Huguenots with infinitely greater severity.

But we will not protract discussion of character whilst our readers are ignorant of facts. When Shakespeare desires to make us acquainted with a person, he does not describe him in elaborate phraseology, or even beautiful poetry, but he brings the living man before us, and makes him speak and act: a faithfully-followed recital of the life and actions of Richelieu will be more instructive than the longest and most critical commentary. And yet we shall not forego our privilege of remarking upon men and events as we fall in with them: to dwell upon the good, to point distinctly out the bad, and draw deductions from both is the honourable task of the historian or the biographer—he is otherwise a mere chronicler.

Before we launch our hero on the theatre in which he is to play so conspicuous a part, we must, however, cast a glance over the political situation of France and Europe generally, together with the moral state of society at the period of his appearance; such an inquiry being absolutely necessary before we can properly judge of him or the events and changes he brought about.

If a genius of great power had the choice of a period in which it could eminently distinguish itself, it could scarcely find one more calculated to draw forth its energies and exhibit its influence than that in which Richelieu lived. The world might be said to be in a ferment. England was beginning its immortal struggle; Holland was completing hers; Spain was still contending with the European differences brought upon her by her accidental *association with Austria and the Netherlands*; and Germany

was torn to pieces by the thirty years' war and the bitter contentions of religious opinions ; Italy was, as ever, an object of ambition and divided claims ; and the other states of the European family were drawn into the vortex of the great ones, by geographical position, mercantile interests, ambitious views, or dire necessity.

But France requires a more lengthened observation. The labours of Louis XI. to depress the power of the nobles had succeeded as far as schemes carried out so nefariously as his were can ever succeed ; that is, when he was gone, and fresh circumstances arose, it was soon found that he had scotched the snake, not killed it. In England, when the monarchs were oppressed by the nobles, they legitimately sought relief in the true source of power ; we will not venture to say that their real object was the prosperity and freedom of the people, but they found it their best policy to make them so : thence most of the great laws upon which England at periods of danger always fell safely back. But such men as Louis XI. and Francis I. had no sympathies with the people, and the people were not in possession of laws by which they might benefit on promising occasion : it is the frequent observation of her historians, that the parliaments returned by the people never had any fixed and determined institutions, upon which they could assert their rights or build claims. In spite of all adverse circumstances, trade and knowledge, in their progress, however, necessarily improved the condition of the third estate. Charles VII., by driving out the English, who had devastated France by the frightful hundred years' war, and by his own conduct at the latter end of his reign, greatly ameliorated the state of the country. But there was nothing genial in the means employed by Louis XI. to destroy the remains of the feudal system ; he did not even pretend to build anything upon its ruins but a *despotism*. Charles VIII., by his *passion for adventures, and his wild expedition into Italy,*

weakened the country and impoverished the people, who loved him for his amiable qualities. Louis XII. persevered in the claims made by his predecessor in Italy, by which he embittered a reign that might have been happy, and drained his people.

With Francis I. and his two rivals, Henry VIII. and Charles V., modern history is said by many to begin. If this be so, the modern history of France, from Francis I. to the most splendid days of Louis XIV., is nothing but one continued scheme on the part of monarchs and their ministers to establish a despotism. Henry II. followed the example of his father in love of pleasure and recklessness; and, after him ensued the awful period in which the offspring of Catherine de Medici, under her tutelage and guidance, desolated France and outraged humanity. The religious wars, and the disputed claim of Henry IV. almost destroyed the effects of the work of Louis XI. The great nobles became again of consequence, when their support was courted by the contending parties; they constantly annoyed him even when seated on the throne; and, when his melancholy death threw the reins of government into the hands of an intemperate woman, they became dangerous to both the sovereign and the people. But the oppression, though equal, was very different from that exercised by the old barons by means of strong castles, lance, and sword; it was now produced by corruption. We cannot better describe the state of society at this period than by presenting two pictures drawn by the skilful hand of Anquetil, the celebrated and trustworthy historian:—"It was the early years of the regency of Mary de Medici that we may fix upon as the epoch at which the nobles began to cease to blush at promoting impositions, and to take part in them more boldly even than they had done before the time of Henry IV. Princes of the blood, dukes and peers, marshals of France, *and nobles of the highest rank*, joined with simple clerks,

calculated with them the produce of a toll to be placed upon a free passage, or of an octroi upon a free city ; what could be drawn from the revival of an obsolete right, from provisioning, from an exclusive privilege, from a creation of officers or letters of nobility ; from the composition which would be accorded for old arrears or pretended old debts. They examined how aids, *gabelles*, and other imposts could be quietly augmented. When all was secretly arranged with the public leeches, the interested parties supported the projects in the council, and secured their passing. All frauds appeared to be allowable when they were proved to be lucrative. Governors demanded bodies of guards which they never completed, augmentations of garrisons for the sake of the pay, and sums for fortifications frequently useless. They themselves made the bargains, and arranged with the contractors at the expense of the king. Survivorships in public offices were granted for three generations. Those who found themselves excluded by this required assignments upon the royal treasury. Nothing was more common than the doubling and trebling of appointments from the highest officer to the lowest. Some obtained dowries for their daughters, others the payment of their debts, so that it became a general pillage, and in a short time all the money amassed by Henry IV. and deposited in the Bastille glided away like water that has found an opening. Sully describes all these manœuvres as new, astonishing, and unworthy of the French nobility, whom this avidity of gain degraded and disgraced. If this profusion had procured the regent the tranquillity she desired, something might be said to have been gained ; but jealousy arose among the nobles upon the more or the less they had received ; and to prevent the discord, which from families might have extended to the state, the regent was obliged to give over again without any increased certainty of *securing the hearts of the recipients.*"

Such is the picture of the Court, and that of the city, drawn by the same master-hand, is not at all less curious. "After the consecration of Louis XIII.," says the writer, "disputes for precedence were not only continued, but increased, although at that period they were such that several great nobles and others, fearing to be confounded with upstarts, refused to be present at the consecration.

"There were several young princes at court, nearly related, and upon friendly terms, as persons of that rank generally are. Sometimes a taste for the same pleasures united them; sometimes the interests of their servants divided them; and from that time they became rivals, enemies, and brawlers. Living in the capital, they made it a point of honour always to appear superbly equipped, and never went from one place to another without a train of gentlemen mounted upon richly-caparisoned horses, the noise and splendour of which attracted the attention of the people. As the streets were badly paved, it was a point of deference to yield the side next the houses, which was called the height of the pavement, and to require it was to affect a pre-eminence subject to disputes, however little equality there might be between the persons. In the quarrels which often ensued between the brave and punctilious, sometimes sharpened by other motives, the populace took part, and riots which disturbed the city frequently occurred.* Chains were then extended across the streets, the drums beat, and the principal citizens placed themselves under arms at the head of their quarters, to restrain the workmen and artizans whom curiosity drew from their labours. In this disposition of men's minds, occasions for meetings were dangerous circumstances, and the regent was obliged, in 1611, to prevent the opening of the fair of St. Germain, because *it is better, said she, that 500 traders should be ruined than the peace of the state should be*

* This must strongly remind our readers of a scene in "The Abbot."

disturbed. A just reflection, which ought to teach the little what they gain by meddling with the disputes of the great."

Such was the general state of society at the beginning of the 17th century.

CHAPTER II.

Descent, birth, and family—Education—In the army—Becomes bishop of Luçon—Deputy of the clergy of Poitou—First appearance at court—Mary de Medici—Court cabals—Introduced to the Council—De Luynes—Assassination of Concini—Ministry disgraced—Accompanies the queen-mother to Blois—Banished to Avignon—Returns to court—Death of De Luynes—Created Cardinal.

ARMAND JEAN DU PLESSIS, Cardinal-duke de Richelieu, was the son of Francis du Plessis, knight of the orders of the king, Grand Provost of the Hotel, and Lord of Richelieu, a village of Poitou, and of Susan de la Porte, daughter of a celebrated and rich advocate. He was born on the 5th of September, 1585, as some say in Paris, but as others assert, with more probability, at the château of Richelieu, where, more than two centuries after, the chamber was still pointed out in which he first saw the light. He was answered for at the baptismal font by Armand, prince de Conti, who gave him his own name. His father, who was a well-educated man, for a nobleman of the period, fancying he perceived great promise of talent in the child, commenced his education at a very early age; he, however, died when Armand was little more than five years old, leaving three sons, of whom he was the youngest, and two daughters. The eldest son inherited the paternal estate, the second was an ecclesiastic, and *Armand was destined for the army.* One of

the daughters married René de Wignerod, lord of Pont-Courtay ; and the other, Urbain de Maillé, marquis de Brezé, afterwards a marshal of France. The bishopric of Luçon had become, in a manner, hereditary in the family, and was held by the second son. His relations, however, conceived such hopes from the precocious talents of young Armand, that they persuaded him to abandon the profession of arms and enter the Church, in which, with the bishopric of Luçon as a first stepping-stone, they thought his abilities would have a better chance of success. Being of an exceedingly ardent nature, however short a time he had devoted to military studies, there is no doubt he made some progress in them, and that the knowledge he then acquired was not only useful to him in after life, but gave a tone to his character. He might always be said to be of the Church militant. His brother, who appears to have been a devout and studious man, readily resigned the see of Luçon to Armand, and entered the order of the Chartreux. When the cardinal was in power, he was unwillingly dragged from the cloister ; was made, successively, bishop of Aix and of Lyons ; and in 1629, received the cardinal's hat from Pope Urban VIII., who, in this circumstance, departed from the regulations laid down by Sixtus V., that two brothers should not be admitted into the sacred college at the same time. He was afterwards appointed Grand Almoner of France, and commander of the order of the Holy Ghost. He was fixed upon to terminate the differences between Rome and France, and acquitted himself of the mission with success. During a pestilence which devastated his bishopric, he conducted himself in a manner worthy of a Fénelon, not merely assisting the sick with his purse and his influence ; but by devoting himself to bearing food, medicine, and comforts, personally, to them. He was, however, on some occasions, too subservient to the views and feelings of *his brother*. When the unhappy duchess de Mont-

morenci passed through Lyons, after the melancholy death of her husband, and wished to seek consolation in the house of Madame de Chantral, celebrated for her great piety, the bishop positively and sternly refused her this relief. He was an austere man, and often regretted his position, saying, in his last moments, he would rather die on the humble couch of Alphonse du Plessis than in the splendid bed of the bishop of Lyons. He endowed several monasteries in his diocese. His epitaph, written by himself, is worthy of being preserved in a note.* This retired churchman, although forced into rank by his more ambitious brother, appears so little in the busy life of the cardinal, that having once necessarily mentioned him, we have felt ourselves obliged to give this slight sketch of his career.

Armand was first placed under the prior of St. Florent, in Poitou; from him he passed to the college of Navarre, and afterwards to that of Lizieu. He studied theology with great ardour, and was a doctor at twenty, after having gone through the Theses in a rochet and camail, as a nominal bishop. For fear his youth should retard his bulls, he hastened to Rome, and pronounced so excellent a Latin harangue before the holy father, that he was no longer deemed too young for his sacred functions. But some historians assert that he, in this first public act of his life, adopted the system which he ever after pursued, of disregarding means if the object were worthy of attainment. He is said to have presented the pope with his elder brother's baptismal registry instead of his own, thus appearing to be older than he really was; and that he afterwards was obliged to ask absolution for the falsehood. We suspect that this story most likely had its birth from the subsequent character of the cardinal; as it may be presumed that a rare precocity of talent, backed

* *Pauper natus sum, Pauperiem vovi, Pauper morior, inter Pauperes sepeliri volo.*

by the request of the king, would be sufficient to overcome the difficulty. He was consecrated at Rome in 1607, in his twenty-second year, and immediately set about the conversion of heretics, the instruction of his clergy, and the reformation of abuses, as the duties of a pastor in his diocese. He was entirely given up to his ecclesiastical functions to the period of the assembly of the States General, in 1614, where he appeared as deputy of the clergy of Poitou. He here gave such proofs of his eloquence, that he was deputed to address the king. As the interpreter of the griefs of the clergy, the bishop of Luçon insisted upon them, and gave them extension proportioned to the interest he doubtless felt he personally had in them. Among other things, he complained that ecclesiastics were too seldom called to the councils of their sovereigns; as if, he said, the honour of serving God rendered them incapable of serving their king, His most lively image. The orator invoked the example of the Druids, whose advice the Gallic ancestors of the French always followed. He ended his address by eulogizing the prudence of the king, who, even after attaining his majority,* left the government of the state in the hands of the queen-mother. He supplicated the young monarch to persevere in a course so wise and proper, and to add to the august title of *mother of the king*, the name of *mother of the kingdom*. This was entering upon the road to fortune boldly: to celebrate to a king's face his own nullity, in order to obtain an opportunity of making court to his mother, was worthy of being the first political step even of a Richelieu. He must have been quite master of the king's character; Louis was then fourteen, and few kings, even at that age, would have relished such a compliment: Mazarin would not have ventured so far with Louis' son. The office of almoner to the queen regent was the reward of this skilful piece of adulation. At this point commences the real life

* This took place at the age of fourteen.

of Richelieu, the life that is interesting to posterity ; and so completely is it mixed up with the history of France, that the best writers have said that the only memoir of Richelieu worth reading, was to be extracted from the history of the reign of Louis XIII.

Richelieu entered upon his career under the auspices of the queen regent. He saw that the character of the king was a weak one, whilst that of the queen regent was altogether as strong. We have a general opinion regarding eminent persons, that they are, in a great degree, the creatures of circumstances, and that their ability is principally shown in turning events to their advantage : we do not believe that the whole career of a Cromwell or a Bonaparte was carried out after a regularly-laid plan, or that their early hopes ever dreamt of the position they obtained. But Richelieu is an exception to this ; he seems to have seen at once all he could obtain, and never, for one instant, to have been turned aside by obstacle, whether moral or physical, from the steady unremitting pursuit of it. He saw that whilst the king was so young it would be better to act in conjunction with his mother than with him ; he foresaw the period of the king's manhood, when he might make him his principal machine ; gratitude to his first benefactress, affection for the king, or love of country never influenced him, because he never felt them ; the grandeur, power, and wealth of Armand du Plessis, were his objects ; and if he chanced to benefit either king, queen, or state, it was to serve his own paramount interests. For a man with his views, Mary de Medici, the widow of Henry IV., and mother of Louis XIII., was a very difficult personage to deal with. When we said that she had strength of character, we should, perhaps, have expressed ourselves better if we had said she was *self-willed*. Her strength was not that of a firm mind, conscious of rectitude ; but she bore no resemblance to her relation, *Catherine de Medici*, she was neither deeply

hypocritical nor vicious; she was the slave of impulse. "Nobody," says Anquetil, in his work entitled, '*L'Intrigue du Cabinet*,' carried passion and the spirit of vengeance further than Mary de Medici did. She could not endure either remonstrances or obstacles; anger rendered her capable of everything; and when any secret interest compelled her to conceal her feelings, constrained nature expressed itself in the alteration of her countenance and her health. Her passions were extreme; friendship with her was blind devotion, and hatred execration. Whoever had once offended her could never flatter himself with the hope of recovering her good graces, nor even of being tolerated; therefore persons so situated preferred endeavouring to destroy her, to depending upon her indulgence. She consequently experienced the contrary to that which happens to mild and moderate characters: they are not more exempt from crosses and contradictions than others, but their patience brings back alienated minds, and everything generally ends to their advantage; whereas Mary de Medici, after some successes, snatched rather than obtained, underwent the most humiliating reverses, which punished her without correcting her." But we cannot help thinking this picture rather severe. When we look at the corrupt state of the nobility which we have given in a preceding page, and when we remember that this queen was always subject to the fascination of either the love or hatred of such a master-mind as that of Richelieu, we cannot but pity her on many occasions, and generally entertain consideration for her errors: her situation was almost inconceivably difficult. One day, when Sully reproached her with want of activity, she replied: "I find people enough to point out evils, but not one to direct me to a remedy: I have done all that is humanly possible for the good of the state, but God has not been willing to bless my efforts. I have given liberty to *the Prince de Condé*—I have disarmed the king—I have

deprived the Marshal d'Ancre of his government in Picardy—I have allowed him to be driven from the court—I have done good to every one—I have injured nobody ; I do not know what more to do.” Now, though this may be the speech of a violent, intemperate woman, it has no internal evidence of being that of a viciously vindictive one. Richelieu, from the strength of his political genius, certainly effected great things, and thence the admiration of many French writers is carried so far as to allow them to see no vices in the minister, and no redeeming virtues in his opponents. Mary de Medici, in a very short time, became the object of Richelieu's most persevering and cruel enmity ; therefore, whilst the great and successful cardinal is the object of indiscriminate eulogy, his benefactress is, proportionately, condemned to obloquy. The writer of a life of Richelieu is constantly compelled to turn to the pages of history, to verify or contradict the extravagant praises heaped upon him by biographers. Aubery, who wrote within twenty years of his death, decks him with all virtues and all talents, and his readers are driven to historical facts to dispel the partial picture.

Mary's principal fault was one which has led innumerable princes to destruction—she was the slave of favourites. She brought with her from Italy a principal attendant named Galegäi, who was married to Concini, a Florentine of low birth, and they together possessed unlimited power over the queen, both before her husband's death and after. Henry IV. was at first annoyed by this favouritism, but when he found his new wife sufficiently obliging to allow him peaceably to enjoy the society of his mistress, the Marquise de Verneuil, in the same palace with herself, he felt bound to be indulgent to her partialities, so much more innocent than his own. After the death of Henry IV., the influence of these favourites became unbounded. It is true, in a court of such volcanic principles, a trifle was sufficient to set all in a blaze ; but the appoint-

ments and dignities bestowed upon this weak and inconsequent Italian disgusted every one. He was made a marshal of France, without ever having drawn a sword, first gentleman of the chamber, governor of Normandy, minister, without knowing a single law of the kingdom, and, with his ill-got wealth, purchased the marquisate of Ancre. A strong party was created in the court against this injudicious conduct of the queen, headed by the prince de Condé, a first cousin of the king's, and father of the great Condé. At first, this cabal was successful; Richelieu was introduced into the council, which, under the direction of the prince, became all-powerful, making the queen and her favourites, particularly the Marquis d'Ancre, sensible of its domination. The partisans of the prince even carried their insults so far, that the duke de Longueville took possession by force of Perenne, of which Concini was governor. The queen then perceived her danger, and determined to meet it. Charles of Valois, count d'Auvergne, who was considered the most formidable enemy of the reigning branch, had been seized for suspected conspiracy against Henry IV., and had remained twelve years a prisoner in the Bastille. This prince, Mary released from durance, for the purpose of opposing him to Condé. Condé and his partisans, Vendôme, a natural son of Henry IV., Bouillon, and Mayenne then began to be aware of their peril, and agreed never to be all together at the Louvre at any time. Condé was arrested on the 1st of September, on entering the council: the order had been given to seize his partisans at the same time, but their precaution saved them, and they flew to arms. The king excused this step to the parliament, in a bed of justice, by alleging the culpable views of the prince, his cousin, which were so far incompatible with the duties of a subject, that they appeared to aim even at the throne, and the pretensions of his partisans, which *were subversive* of royal authority. The parliament did

not venture a reply ; Condé was conveyed to the Bastille, and the queen set three armies on foot, for the suppression of the malcontents, who had taken refuge at Soissons. The pride of Concini now knew no bounds. He was absent, in Normandy, when Condé was arrested, and returned like a despot to his empire. He bestowed offices, and excluded tried servants from their charges. Richelieu's ascendancy in the council increased, and the old ministers were forced to retire : the marshal was the guiding power of all. But the queen, in her earnest desire to place everything in his hands, was short-sighted enough to allow him to interfere with the king ; and the arrogant favourite drew upon himself the hatred of that prince by endeavouring to change or thwart his pleasures.

The king likewise had a favourite ; the Duke de Luynes, by his skill in training sparrow-hawks, and other concessions to the puerile tastes of Louis, had gained a perfect ascendancy over his weak mind. The contest then was between the two favourites. Louis was married and was growing into manhood ; and what may be almost termed the first act of his public life, damned his character to all posterity, and was a frequent source of remorse to himself.

Notwithstanding his pride and extraordinary fortune, Concini was not blind to his real position ; and, in a conversation which he held about this time with Bassompierre, he expressed the anxious desire he felt to leave France and return into Italy, to enjoy his wealth in peace : " I had not a penny," said he, " when I came into France ; I enriched myself by my marriage. All kinds of misfortunes have lately fallen upon me at once ; I lost my friends ; I was driven from my government ; the populace, which hates me, insulted me ; my people were hung ; I was forced to fly ; my house was pillaged ; my darling daughter died ; and yet my wife would not leave the queen. I have *wealth enough* for a sovereign prince ; I

have offered the pope six hundred thousand crowns for the usufruct of the duchy of Ferrara ; and I shall still have more than two millions to leave to my son." What depredations must this man and his wife have committed, to get together such a sum in the space of less than seventeen years ! and at whose expense ? He had not, however, long to enjoy his good fortune, or to be anxious about securing it. On the 24th of April Louis ordered him to be arrested upon his appearance at the council. As he entered, Vitry, the captain of the guard, accosted him, told him he was his prisoner, and demanded his sword. Concini made a movement ; but without waiting to see whether it was to surrender or to defend himself, Vitry and two of his followers instantly fired their pistols, and he fell dead upon the floor of the council chamber.

At the present time, such an open assassination, and in such a place, appears not only revolting but almost incredible. But, as we judge that to be the fairest trial when a man is subjected to the opinion of his peers, so no one can be properly exonerated or condemned when accused of crime, without reference to the spirit of the age in which it was committed. In the year 1617 we cannot lay our finger upon that country in Europe in which assassination might not be said to be common ; and in France itself, during the preceding half century, blood had been shed in such frightful profusion, as to make us place the value of human life in a very low scale in the estimation of all ranks. But we do not venture to extenuate the detestable proceeding. Concini had been guilty of ten times more peculation than afterwards brought Marillac to the block ; and Louis might have preserved his character from this deep stain by the appearance even of a trial. It was the act of a boy, who had been a king before he had the power to think. It is said to have truly denoted his after-character ; but though *he and Richelieu made his a cruel and bloody reign*, there

is no other act of this kind laid entirely to the king. Twenty-seven years after, upon his death-bed, we find it was the principal event of his life that gave him uneasiness. However consonant it may appear with the prompt, bold, and decided tone of Richelieu's character, there is no reason to believe that he was instrumental in this disgraceful affair.

The news of the assassination of Concini was at first received by Mary de Medici with astonishment and grief; but the circumstance was so awful, that it quickly forced reflection back upon herself; and her anxiety for the widow of the slaughtered man, whom she had loved so warmly, was effaced by the idea of her own future prospects. "I have reigned seven years," exclaimed she; "I must henceforward think of no other crown but that of heaven!"

But if there was grief in the apartments of the queen-mother and in the palace of Concini, Paris was in a state of mad joy. We shall have so many occasions to speak of scenes which must appear improbable to the readers of the present age, that we think we cannot do better than offer them a detail of what followed this event, as furnished by an historian, in order that they may judge of the state of the public morals and manners in France, at the commencement of the seventeenth century; particularly as the great man whose memoirs we have undertaken to write, will be found to be so intimately mixed up with it.

"As soon as Marshal d'Ancre was dead, some of the troop of assassins hastened to plunder his body. One took his diamond, another his sword; this one seized upon his scarf, that upon his cloak. The body was then carried to a small chamber belonging to the soldiers of the guard. In the evening his clothes were closely searched, and, as some say, a vast amount of property was found in his pockets: but this account is contradicted by others. Be that as it may, he wore over his shirt a gold chain, to which was suspended a reliquary, contain-

ing nothing but a small piece of white linen. The bystanders immediately cried out, "A charm!" "Sorcery!" and some refused to touch it for fear of becoming possessed by a devil. It was evidently a relic, Concini being very superstitious. The body was afterwards placed in a cloth which cost fifty sous, and buried at night, without any ceremony, beneath the organ of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. A priest of the parish wishing to chant a psalm commonly used on such occasions, the persons who had brought the body by order of the king, flew in the face of the priest and stopped his mouth. "This scoundrel," said they, "is undeserving of the prayers of any one." The gravediggers took such pains to put the stones down quickly and carefully, that it was difficult to discover that a body had been newly interred there. Nevertheless, the people were soon acquainted with it, and some of the lowest rabble flocked to the church. One of them, by scratching round the stones, soon found they had been recently raised, and the tumult became so great that the priests were obliged to drive them out by force. But the clergy belonging to the church having gone to join the solemn procession which is made every year on the 25th of April, the populace poured in from all parts, and set about disinterring the body, to the cry of "Vive le Roi!" The clergy, on their return from the procession, were unable to quell the tumult or stop the proceedings.

The grand-provost had orders to go to the church with some soldiers, and rescue the body; but the mob threatened to bury that officer alive if he dared to interfere. It appeared that the enemies of Concini were pleased with letting the people act as they pleased, as a single company of the regiment of the guards would have sufficed to disperse them. In fact, whilst a body of soldiers was passing, one of them gave his match to the mob, to serve as a cord by which to hang the body. After *being dragged from the church*, it was for some time

exposed before the door of Barbini, who lodged in the neighbourhood. His guards forced him to look out of the window at the body of his protector, which was then drawn to the Pont-Neuf, where there was a gallows which the Marshal d'Ancre had himself ordered to be erected some time before, to terrify persons who wished to promote disturbance. A lackey, more insolent and audacious than the rest, offered to tie up the body of a man who, he said, had not long before threatened to hang him.

Concini's wife, La Galigai, astonished at the noise she heard round the Louvre, asked her guards the cause of it. "*It is your husband they are hanging,*" replied one of them, brutally. She appeared agitated, but even this did not draw a single tear from her eyes. To complete the picture of horror, we will add that they plucked out the eyes, cut off the nose, the ears, all the members, and the head; then the populace dividing themselves into several troops, each dragged a portion of the carcase through the streets. One well-dressed man opened the body, put his hand into it, stained it with the blood, and then licked it. This was not all; another took the heart, broiled it upon some coals, and ate it, dipping each morsel in vinegar. The trunk of the body was dragged to the Grève, to the Bastille, before the hotel of the Prince de Condé, and to the door of the marshal's house. The fury of the people being satiated, a part of the body was burnt at the Grève, and the remainder on the Pont-Neuf. Some wretches collected the ashes and sold them by the ounce. The lackey who had tied the body to the gallows, carried round his hat, asking for money for having hung M. the Marshal; and even the poorest in the crowd gave him something.

The intelligence of Concini's death was received in the provinces with great rejoicings; bonfires were lighted, and the marshal was hung in effigy. Louis XIII. gave

orders "that the governors should be written to, that the marshal and his wife, taking advantage of his youth and the ascendancy they had gained over the mind of the queen his mother, had left the young monarch nothing but the name of king; that he had been forced to conceal his good intentions, by feigning to think of anything but the government of the state; that various persons having strongly urged the queen his mother to allow the king from that time to take upon himself the management of affairs, the Marshal d'Ancre had hastened from Normandy, to endeavour to prevent the execution of his good and just designs; that in the indispensable necessity for placing his person in safety, and to prevent the general conflagration with which France was threatened, he had ordered the captain of his guards to arrest Concini; but that the marshal, having come to the Louvre well accompanied, wished to resist; that in consequence pistol-shots were fired, some of which laid him dead on the spot." Louis finished this letter by giving notice that he meant from that time to govern for himself, and to extricate his kingdom from the extreme peril into which it had been precipitated by the dangerous counsels the queen had followed.

The news of the death of Concini so terrified the minister and his creatures, that no one of them believed himself in safety. Mangot, keeper of the seals, Richelieu, bishop of Luçon, and Barbini, went, in the first place, to conceal themselves in the queen's stables, where they remained for some time, uncertain what part they had best take. After a long deliberation, they sent Bragelone to implore the assistance of Mary de Medici. Sufficiently embarrassed on her own account, Mary gave kind words to Barbini: "But," added she, "as to the keeper of the seals and the bishop of Luçon, I do not know what to say." The queen-mother preferred her intendant to the *other two*; she rightly judged by the rigour her son

began to exhibit towards her, that her credit, destroyed in an instant, would not, perhaps, be sufficient to save Barbini. In fact, her prayers and tears could not prevail. Mangot and Richelieu, having no longer anything to hope for on the part of Mary de Medici, formed the resolution of hazarding everything, and going to the Louvre to learn their fate. Mangot entered first, and went straight towards the apartments of the queen-mother. Vitry, perceiving him, came to him and told him not to proceed, but to await the orders of the king. The keeper of the seals walked two or three turns in the court by the side of him who had just destroyed the great prop of his fortune. Vitry soon left him alone, and nobody was eager to join company with the poor keeper of the seals. Tired with seeing himself pointed at, and of undergoing the insulting looks of those who rejoiced in his disgrace, Mangot sent to ask permission to pay his respects to his Majesty. Young Loménie, son of the secretary of state, came to tell him, on the part of the king, that he was to go and fetch the seals, and bring them to him immediately. Mangot obeyed, and returned to the Louvre for the last time, bringing with him the marks of his dignity. Vitry met him at the foot of the staircase, and cried in a jeering tone: "Where are you going now, monsieur, with your satin robe? The king will not have anything more to do with you." Mangot replied, humbly, that he had brought the seals, which the king had sent for. He was then permitted to ascend the stairs, at the top of which he remained a long time, exposed to the railleries of everybody. De Luynes at length came and demanded the seals of him. "Well, we have got the seals," cried Louis, with great delight; "we will have the finances too!" The disconsolate Mangot passed still several very uncomfortable hours at the Louvre: his inquietude was doubled when he was conducted to Vitry's apartment by four guards, who did not leave him till evening, *when they gave him permission to go; and he*

returned cheerfully home, rejoiced at being let off so cheaply.

Richelieu, bishop of Luçon, endured at first great mortification; but, more bold than Mangot, he at once presented himself before his Majesty. "Well, M. de Luçon," said the king, retaining his seat upon his billiard table, of which he made a sort of throne, "I am at length delivered from your tyranny." The prelate was disconcerted; as he was preparing to reply something in his justification, the king sharply ordered him to retire. His Majesty had forgotten the great hopes he had given Richelieu some days before: he was reminded of them, and sent word to the bishop of Luçon, that the post of secretary of state was restored to Villeroy, but that he would still be one of his Majesty's councillors of state: in fact, an officer from the king conducted him to the door of the chamber in which the council was assembled. As soon as Villeroy and the old ministers learnt that the bishop of Luçon was about to enter, they raised so many difficulties, that the prelate did not dare to show himself; but remained standing at the door, under the pretext of conversing with the president Miron. Richelieu even affected generously to give up his pretensions, which did not, however, prevent his enemies from reproaching him with this apparent mark of humility as a certain proof that he had betrayed Mary de Medici and Concini, in order to gain the good graces of Luynes.

In order to satisfy the cupidity of the king's favourite, it was necessary not only to bring Concini's widow to the scaffold, but to cast every obloquy upon the memory of both. Among other charges, she was accused of witchcraft; every kind of indignity and misery was inflicted upon her to the hour of her execution, which she underwent with such firmness and piety that many of the Parisians who had insulted the remains of the marshal, shed tears at the *death of his widow*. De Luynes obtained the confisca-

tion of all that Concini and his wife had possessed in France and Italy.

Favourites are little beloved by contemporaries, or admired by posterity; there is, however, great reason to think that the unfortunate Concini was not, by many degrees, so worthless as he is generally painted; indeed, very trustworthy writers describe him as an amiable, and consequently an injured man.

Richelieu, who had obtained office and a seat in the council by means of Concini and the queen-mother, had a difficult part to play after the catastrophe of the murder of the one, and the disgrace of the other. De Luynes, aware of his abilities, would have had him remain in the council; but, whether judging that favour, built upon such a weak foundation as that of this young man, was not likely to last, or whether following the far-sighted policy that seems to have been intuitive in him, he thought proper to affect to be of the queen's party still, and left the court to attend her to Blois, to which place she was banished. Some writers conceive a mystery in this; his after-life being such a tissue of political intrigue, they believe that no action of his was dictated by the motives he made apparent. One says: "Here was the Marshal d'Ancre assassinated, his wife beheaded; Mangot, the keeper of the seals, reduced to a private station; Barbini in prison; and yet the bishop of Luçon, who had been their creature, retained his place in the council! They must be extremely partial to the future cardinal and minister who believe this to be the result of merit alone." The conclusion they draw is, that he attended the queen either as a spy upon her actions, or with a view to use his art and eloquence to restrain her violence, and induce her to act consistently with the wishes of the king, his favourite, and ministers. The object was certainly worthy of the means employed, if this was the case, for Mary had still a strong party in France: she had reigned seven

years as regent; though violent, she was not void of intelligence; though a bitter enemy, she was a warm and liberal friend; the king's weakness was known, and his favouritism dreaded and abhorred; therefore, her name and cause were, even to her melancholy death, the rallying words of disaffected nobles and partisans. But we are more inclined to think that these reasons for the continuance of the importance of the queen-mother weighed with Richelieu, than that he was employed by the king; for after a very short residence with her at Blois, he was ordered to retire to a small benefice he possessed in Anjou, called Coursai; thence he was commanded to go to his bishopric of Luçon, and at length took refuge at Avignon. This certainly would not have happened, if he had been the king's agent or spy. Indeed, there is no reason to think that at this period he was at all, personally, in the good graces of Louis. Fortunately for him, when pressed by Concini, upon his taking office, to resign his bishopric of Luçon, as incompatible with the position of secretary of state for war and foreign affairs, he had refused to do so, at the risk of offending the favourite, who wanted the see for another creature; and he had now that benefice to fall back on.

In his retreat at Luçon, he devoted himself to the composition of learned controversies; and when, from suspicions entertained by the court that theology was not the sole object of his meditations, he was ordered to leave that place, as too near to Blois, and to reside at Avignon, in the Papal States, he still ostensibly prosecuted the same studies, and wrote his book, "The Perfection of the Christian." To place his retreat from public affairs beyond all suspicion, he scarcely permitted his brother or brother-in-law to visit him; and he passed two years at Avignon, persisting in the declaration that he never would leave that place without the consent of De Luynes, and without the hope of being serviceable to him. But who

can believe that his ardent spirit and politic genius, having been once engaged in state intrigues, could abandon all hopes of re-entering the great arena? That he still was busy, though unobserved, is the less doubtful from the circumstance of his eldest brother, Du Plessis, being retained near the queen-mother in a confidential situation, during her residence at Blois; and from his being, afterwards, at once fixed upon as the person most likely to affect a reconciliation between the king and Mary de Medici. If he had ceased entirely to hold communication with her, this certainly would not have been the case.

The queen dowager had carried into her retreat the same taste for intrigue and the same passion for domination that she had evinced during her regency; but a host of churchmen placed about her person, succeeded in keeping her within bounds, by painting in vivid colours the misfortunes which would ensue to France, if she persisted in her pretensions. She corresponded with her son, and flattered herself that a visit which he promised to make her, would bring about a return of the influence she had so long exercised over him. But summer passed away, autumn likewise was gone, and winter was advancing, without any favourable intelligence from the court. The queen renewed her complaints, several noblemen appeared to take an interest in her situation, and sent her secret testimonials of their sympathy with it. But it was her character alone which rendered her uncomfortable; if she could have sacrificed her ardent desire for reigning, her position, far from being a mortifying one, might have rendered her happy, as the king allowed her a revenue sufficient to satisfy all her wishes. There can, however, be no doubt that her restless spirit was constantly excited by the ambition of those around her and of those at a distance.

Whilst her mind was in this state, her release from Blois was undertaken by an Italian, named Ruccelai, a wealthy, voluptuous, intriguing churchman. Though an

abbé, he kept one of the most sumptuous houses and best-furnished tables in Paris, shaming the French by his exquisite cookery and the elegance of his entertainments. Being known to be attached to the Marshal d'Ancre, he received orders, after the assassination of that favourite, to retire to his abbey, and to hold no communication with the queen-mother. But of what avail is authority against determination in designs, intrepidity in danger, and constancy that is proof against all fatigue? By means of disguises and night journeys, undergoing hardships that we are surprised such a man could endure, he succeeded in gaining access to the queen, then to the Duke de Bouillon, whom he endeavoured to interest in her cause, and lastly, to the powerful Duke d'Epernon. At this period, this duke held five great governments; three in the interior of the kingdom, Saintonge, l'Angoumois, and the Limousin, being provinces in which were a multitude of warlike gentlemen, devoted to their governor. His other two governments were three bishoprics and Le Boulonnois, situated on the frontiers. The first enabled him to draw succours from Germany, and the second to keep up a connection with England. He was also commander of several cities, among which was Loches, near Blois. The Duke d'Epernon, in addition to this power, possessed great wealth; he was colonel of the French infantry, which placed seven or eight thousand of the best-disciplined men in the kingdom under his command; and, as a crown to the whole, had several young and vigorous sons, capable of assisting him in anything he might undertake. He enjoyed such a reputation for prudence, firmness, and foresight, that it was expected a crowd of malcontents would flock to his standard, the moment it was raised. Under Henry IV. he had found his master, and a master he esteemed; so that after several useless attempts to gain authority in the kingdom, he had resolved *to confine himself* to the honours attached to his places.

But now things were changed, he despised both the favourite and the youthful courtiers, who did not pay him the respect he thought was his due. He hated the minister, who diminished his appointments, and granted to others honours, the privation of which he considered an injustice and an affront. He did not love the king. He had braved the favourite, by remaining at court almost in spite of him; and by retiring, when he received positive orders to do so, with a pomp and a retinue that were an insult to royalty. The king was on the point of having him arrested, and the proud old man retained such a remembrance of the threat as made him capable of anything offensive to the monarch.

With this powerful noble, the abbé, after innumerable journeys and perils, submitting to insults and stooping to humiliations, effected his purpose; and the 22nd of February, 1619, was fixed upon for the evasion.

Everything being prepared, the queen, as soon as it was night, left the castle of Blois, descending from the window of her apartment by means of a ladder of ropes. She had nobody with her but one of her women, named Catherine. At the foot of the ladder were the Count de Brenne, her principal equerry, with four of his guards, and the Sieur Duplessis, brother of the bishop of Luçon, to superintend all the proceedings. The Duke d'Epernon came out from Loches at the head of his household and guards to meet her, and conducted her to Angoulême.

When the court was informed of the step the queen-mother had taken, Luynes was of opinion that she should be immediately followed by a strong armed force; but the king preferred pacific overtures, only insisting upon her giving up the Duke d'Epernon; to do which she positively and persistingly refused. The queen's party was joined by several influential nobles, disgusted by the favourite, or dissatisfied by not obtaining his notice; and the horrors of a civil war were apparently imminent.

At this period, Richelieu was in appearance vegetating at Avignon, where Pope Paul V. only permitted his residence with regret. This pontiff had seen him at Rome, and looked upon him as a dangerous intriguer; his good opinion of him not being increased by his having deceived his holiness with regard to his baptism. The embarrassment in which Richelieu knew the court then was, gave him reason to conjecture that his services might be acceptable, and he offered them by means of the Marquis de Pontcourtai, his cousin. They were at once accepted, and he received permission to repair to the queen-mother. Before the prelate arrived at Angoulême, this court mystery was divulged by the indiscretion of the king: he publicly asked the Marquis de Villeroy if the Lord d'Alincourt, his father, was sufficiently well served in his government to be sure of arresting the bishop of Luçon, who was about to pass through it *incognito*. Villeroy immediately wrote to his father; and the latter placed so many spies on the route, that Richelieu was discovered; and though the prelate had a passport in proper form, he detained him at Lyons, but with great respect. The king, who had only meant to joke, and who believed that Richelieu must have passed before D'Alincourt could receive the notice, was no sooner aware of his detention, than he sent an order for him to be allowed to continue his journey. This adventure betrayed the collusion of Richelieu with the court.

When he arrived at Angoulême, his conduct towards the queen was exceedingly prudent. He did not assume the importance of a person who, proud of the confidence of both parties, pretends to make himself the soul and centre of the matters in hand, the organ of the means, and the exclusive conciliator. He listened to everybody, and did not appear to desire any advantage, any pre-eminence, *over* the other denizens of the court, whether old or new.

He caused himself to be introduced to the queen by the Duke d'Epéron; he affected to court the esteem and friendship of that nobleman, and said that he wished only to owe the good-will of the princess to his kind offices.

This conciliatory demeanour won all hearts, and disposed those who were influential to listen to his persuasions. The bishop of Luçon, seconded by the Marquis de Bethunes, a negotiator of the greatest merit, had the honour to make and conclude an accommodation with the queen-mother and the Duke d'Epéron; the latter of whom, without these negotiations, would have been pursued by justice as guilty of high treason, which, if it had not cost him his life, would at least have been the means of his losing his charges, and of having his property confiscated. D'Epéron for his knight-errantry in releasing the queen was the person who suffered most by that conjuncture; and yet Bassompierre says that he gained more than he lost, by the money given to him for levies of troops, which levies he did not make; a matter not at all improbable. Richelieu preceded the queen to meet the king, and received thanks proportionate to the services he had just rendered.

Luynes having wished to force the queen-mother to abandon the Duke d'Epéron, to make of him, as he said, an example, that princess replied, that she never would desert a man who had risked everything in order to release her from captivity; and that, so far from leaving him exposed to the resentment of his enemies, she would throw herself between him and all attempts made to injure him. She was, notwithstanding, afterwards on the point of sacrificing him, at the instance of the Abbé Ruccelai, who had again quarrelled with D'Epéron. But better feelings ensued, and she determined to proceed to the last extremities rather than yield to the favourite. Such was the desperate state of the affair, when, as we

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have said, the intervention of a single man, of Richelieu, bishop of Luçon, restored the peace, which had seemed hopeless.

The Duke d'Epéron obtained nothing for his chivalric enterprise but the thanks of Mary and a diamond ; for her part, the reconciliation produced all she could desire. She obtained the government of Anjou, with regal rights, the cities of Angers, Chinon, and Pont de Cé, as places of safety, with four hundred foot and two companies of cavalry, paid by the state, to guard them. The appointments of her household were much increased, and she had permission to visit the king, but under the express condition that it should be only for an interview, because, it was said, circumstances would not allow them to reside together at that moment.

The interview between Mary de Medici and her son took place at the castle of Courcières, near Tours. At meeting, they evinced more surprise than tenderness : "Monsieur, my son," exclaimed the queen, "how you are grown since I saw you !" "I am grown, madame," replied Louis, "for your service." Mary was flattered by the attentions and caresses of her daughter-in-law ; but if she had had her choice, she would have preferred the good graces of her son. She one day asked the prince of Piedmont, her son-in-law, "How shall I set about obtaining them ?" He replied, "Love truly and sincerely all that he loves ; those words contain the law and the prophets." The lesson was good, and Mary de Medici secured the misery of her life by neglecting it.

Richelieu, who had been the principal agent in bringing about the peace of Angers between Louis XIII. and his mother, was, at the time, supposed to be ill-rewarded for his trouble ; but all that such a genius as his wanted was opportunities, and his return to court opened many to him : he was made intendant of the queen-mother's household, *and had other means of acquiring wealth placed within his*

reach. But he had been promised a cardinal's hat ; and, instead of receiving that honourable reward, he soon found that enemies and envious persons accused him of having thought much more of his own interests than of those of the kingdom, and of not having hesitated even to sacrifice his mistress to obtain the dignity he so much coveted. Whatever may have been the secret motive of his conduct, a motive of which, though we may suspect its fidelity, we are not able to speak with certainty, we are bound to admit that his conduct was wise, and conformable to sound policy, advantageous to France, which it tranquillized, and to Mary de Medici, whom it satisfied. All that that princess could require was, to return to her son with the same honours and the same authority she had previously enjoyed ; to return to him, not by force and as a suppliant, but triumphant and courted. The malcontents had endeavoured to persuade her that, to attain this object, she must make herself feared by employing their forces. Richelieu, on the contrary, wished Mary to employ the support of these nobles and the display of their power, not to contend with her son, but to make herself necessary to him. He succeeded in this, by depriving Mary, even against his duty and promises to her, of the power of rendering herself redoubtable, and by engaging her to return to Angers. Thus the bishop of Luçon had terminated, in an instant, a civil war, which might have proved dangerous to both the principal parties concerned in it : from the well-known character of the nobles who put themselves forward, there could be very little doubt as to their object.

Richelieu had rendered an essential service to the mother, the son, the favourite, and all France ; and therefore all appeared grateful to him. Luynes courted the future cardinal, and the marriage of one of his relations with one of Richelieu's nieces was the seal to this new reconciliation. *Richelieu* was given to understand that

the king had his promotion to the cardinal's hat very much at heart; the ministry despatched courier after courier, and wrote the most pressing letters, which they always took care to communicate to the object of them. The Marquis de Cœuvres, ambassador to Rome, had orders to press the Pope warmly on the subject, and really was very zealous. The Sovereign Pontiff dissembled for some time; but, at last, annoyed by the importunities of the ambassador, he told him he was being deceived, and showed him letters from the king himself, which proved that his majesty took no interest in the public entreaties made in favour of the bishop of Luçon; so that the promotion of 1620 passed without any benefit to Richelieu. He knew very well who it was that had opposed him in this instance; the ministers, Father Arnorex, the king's confessor, and Luynes himself. Any other than the bishop of Luçon would have appeared offended at such treachery, and would have forced these false friends to remove the obstacles which their jealousy had placed in the way of his advancement; but, well acquainted with the nature of courts, he pursued a more politic course. He neither murmured nor complained; he affected to say that his misfortune was a consequence of the ill-will of the Pope, and of persons who were envious of his position: he was thankful to his French friends, and continued to live with them as if he had only gratitude and praises to bestow upon them. By this conduct he removed their desire to injure him; an ordinary occurrence in courts, where hatred is seldom indulged in by halves.

Notwithstanding the family alliance, the Duke de Luynes still continued to be the secret enemy of the bishop of Luçon, and, as long as he lived, succeeded in thwarting all the endeavours of the queen-mother to procure the so earnestly coveted hat for her *protégé*. In 1622, the Duke de Luynes, only the year before made constable of France, in the midst of the most rapid career of honours

and success, died of a fever, in the thirty-second year of his age. All favourites have obtained an unenviable celebrity, and few have been honoured by more contemporary abuse than De Luynes. The curious searcher into the history of these times might find volumes of libels against this young man, whose character and history would not have the least interest if they were not connected with events and persons of so much more consequence than himself. Like Concini, De Luynes had good qualities ; but they were obscured, if not destroyed, by the unmerited favour he enjoyed. Whilst the minister and companion of Louis, he effected many praiseworthy changes ; but the extravagant way in which he was loaded with honours spoiled him, and drew upon him the hatred of all classes. We have before us, at this moment, a closely-printed volume of more than five hundred pages, containing nothing but satirical and abusive articles, in prose and verse, against this favourite of a day. The volume was printed, when the pieces were collected, just a year after his death. It is in excellent preservation ; *but bears no sign of having ever been read*,—the fate, we should fancy, of most of such documents.

In the same year, 1622, Richelieu obtained his cardinalship ; and in 1624, was admitted into the Royal Council. At this period commences the history of the Cardinal Richelieu, whose ministry is one of the most famous in the world's annals. He was in the thirty-ninth year of his age ; he had established a reputation for eloquence, for political wisdom, for firmness of character, and great energy and acuteness in all he undertook ; the other parts of his character, whether good or evil, were soon and strikingly developed.

CHAPTER III.

Re-admitted to the council—Wins the favour of Louis XIII.—The Thirty Years' War—Political Events—Marriage of Charles I. of England with the Princess Henrietta of France—Increase of power—Difficulties—Gaston—D'Ornano—Chalais—Plot against Richelieu—Marriage of Gaston—Execution of Chalais—Buckingham—Affects to wish to retire—Anne of Austria.

THE new cardinal having received the *barette*, in great pomp, from the hands of the king, and acquitted himself of the usual thanks, hastened to lay his blushing honours at the feet of Mary de Medici. "This purple," said he, "for which I am indebted to your majesty, will constantly remind me of the solemn vow I have taken to shed my blood, if necessary, in your defence." Almost his whole after-life was an awful comment upon this vow and speech.

The death of De Luynes had restored the credit of the queen-mother. She was again admitted into the council; but expressed little satisfaction at that circumstance, as long as the same privilege was refused to the Cardinal de Richelieu. She availed herself of a favourable opportunity to urge her wishes to the king; but his majesty expressed himself strongly upon the subject, saying, "I know him better than you do, madame; he is a man of boundless ambition." Perseverance, however, overcame obstacles without removing repugnances: Richelieu was admitted to the council under the express condition that he should confine himself to offering his opinion.

The minister Vieuville assisted greatly in throwing open the door of the council-chamber, but very soon repented of having given himself such a colleague; his subsequent conduct towards him showed that he feared him much *more than he loved him*. He not only concealed affairs

of state from him, and treated him with limited confidence, but he used every exertion to prevent the prelate from acquiring any credit with the king. "The cardinal," said he, "being a creature of your mother, is, necessarily, entirely devoted to her; if you listen to him, you can expect nothing but to be brought back again under that tutelage from which you flatter yourself you have escaped." But, whilst insinuating these suspicions into the mind of the king, Vieuville had the *mal-adresse* to allow Richelieu opportunities for developing the great talents which, in spite of the prejudices of the prince, succeeded in winning his esteem,—a feeling which became his strongest rampart against the attacks of his enemies. Throughout his life, Louis was always, from this time, aware of the superior genius of the cardinal, and he bowed to it, though unwillingly.

"This esteem," says Anquetil, "sprang up and was ripened all at once in the conversations which Louis had with Richelieu upon two important affairs, of which Vieuville had imprudently left him the direction; these were the conduct to be maintained with the Spaniards respecting the Valteline, and with the English with regard to the marriage of Madame Henrietta of France, sister to the king, with the heir of the crown of England, afterwards Charles I. On account of some cessions which these two nations required, the cardinal made it clear to the king that his council was too mild and too timid, which gave the foreigners an undue superiority. Louis endeavoured to excuse the timidity of his council, by repeating the speeches that were being constantly made to him upon the weakness of his kingdom. The prelate destroyed all his majesty's objections, by drawing the most flattering portrait of his people, and by exhibiting an imposing picture of the resources of his kingdom. Louis could not help expressing surprise that his kingdom, *apparently made to give law*, should, in so many

cases, basely receive it. The cardinal explained to him the reasons for the state of decay into which France had fallen, and the means that ought to be taken to restore her. From that moment a correspondence of ideas and actions was established between the monarch and the minister, which supported that minister against all efforts, either domestic or foreign, even against the lassitude of Louis and Richelieu themselves, who, often disgusted by the contrast of their characters, and ready to separate, were constantly drawn together again by the necessity for assisting each other in the execution of the plans they had formed." But, still further than this, the reciprocity described so well by Anquetil was not so equal as he represents it. Playing upon a weak mind, of which he had made himself master, the wily cardinal took care that the king should constantly feel this necessity: from the moment the compact was made, Louis was never at peace; his minister always contrived he should be involved in some trouble or other, from which his own genius shrunk appalled, and from which he thought nobody could extricate him but the great cardinal.

Soon after Richelieu's admission to the council, the system of the court was entirely changed. The discussions of the council were required to be kept secret, whereas the Spaniards had been accustomed, by one means or other, to be as well acquainted with them as the members themselves. The mode of conducting political affairs was likewise changed; instead of the ruses, manœuvres, finesses, and affected delays which the French ambassadors had been accustomed to employ at other courts, they had positive orders to speak and act with firmness. The ambassador from the court of Rome, seeing a new minister, when the cardinal took the lead in the council, fancied he should render him a service by writing him a long letter, pointing out the usual routine *he must* pursue in negotiations with his court. To this

document Richelieu shortly replied, "The king is no longer disposed to be amused ; you may tell the Pope that an army will be immediately sent into the Valteline." The Pope's nuncio complained of the expedition of the French in favour of the Grisons against the Pope ; an expedition, said he, made by a Catholic prince, and recommended by a cardinal, against the Pope himself, in favour of an heretical people. " You must be very much embarrassed," said the nuncio to Richelieu, " when the question of this war is deliberated in the council !" " Not at all," replied the cardinal ; " when I was made Secretary of State, the Pope gave me a brief by which I am permitted to say and do all, in safety of conscience, that may be useful to the state." " But suppose it should be proposed to assist heretics ?" added the nuncio. " Well,—I think," replied Richelieu, coolly,—" I think my brief would even extend to that."

All Europe began, at this period, to be agitated by the famous thirty years' war between the Catholics and Protestants of Germany. The indolent emperor Rodolph had been, in part, despoiled of his states by the ambitious Mathias, his brother, who inherited the imperial dignity. Mathias died without children, in 1619. He had, whilst living, caused Ferdinand of Stiria, his cousin-german, grandson of Ferdinand I., brother of Charles V., to be elected king of Bohemia. This prince, brought up by Jesuits and crowned by Spaniards, wished to deprive the Bohemians of liberty of conscience ; they became irritated by his attempts, carried a complaint to the council of Prague, and threw three of the officers of the government out of the windows into the ditches of the castle. They immediately raised troops, refused to recognize Ferdinand II. as successor to Mathias, and offered the imperial crown to Frederick V., the elector palatine, son-in-law of James I., king of England, and nephew of the stadtholder of *Holland*. If Henry IV. had been living,

he would have eagerly seized upon such an opportunity for lowering the pride of the house of Austria : but the father of the palatine had actively assisted the Calvinists of France, and the perfectly Catholic and Spanish spirit which at that time governed Louis XIII. and his court made him abandon the cause of the Protestants in Germany, and neglect the grand part he might have assumed of arbitrator of Europe. The king, however, was sensible that he ought to dispute with the Spaniards and the house of Austria the possession of the Valteline, a valley of the Alps, a dependency of the Grisons, which always furnished easy means of communication between Germany and Italy.*

The cardinal further signified to the Pope's nuncio, that as the council was no longer governed by light heads, the affair would be quickly settled ; the king of France being determined to proceed with a quick and firm step. The Marquis de Cœuvres was immediately sent into Switzerland, not to negotiate, but to raise 6,000 Swiss, and lead them into Italy. Though the cardinal was sufficiently unprejudiced to undertake such a war for the public good without scruple, he found that the king and queen-mother entertained conscientious doubts, and he called an assembly of bishops and notables, who sanctioned the war. After many military events, this war was terminated in 1636, by Father Joseph ; but not, as an historian remarks, without numerous complaints being made by the negotiators, of the duplicity of the Cardinal de Richelieu. The war of Italy had obliged him to treat with the Huguenots, for

* The Valtline, or Valteline, is a fertile valley of Switzerland, fifty miles long and about fourteen broad, inclosed between two chains of high mountains ; the north chain separates it from the Grisons, the south from the Venetian territories ; it is bounded on the east by the country of the Bormio, and on the west by that of Chiavana and the duchy of Milan. The river Adda flows through its whole length, into the lake Como. The inhabitants are all Roman Catholics ; they have no manufactures, but export wine, *silk, planks, cheese, butter, and cattle.*

fear of having too much on his hands at once. Some concessions, which the cardinal imposed upon himself with regret, drew upon him the blame of zealous Catholics. We have an idea that, under such an arbitrary government as that of Louis XIII. and his cardinal minister, there could be no liberty of the press; and yet few periods have been more rife in libels and pasquinades: in some of these, Richelieu was styled *the Pontiff of the Calvinists, the Cardinal of La Rochelle, the Patriarch of the Atheists*. But still he held on his course, crushing the authors like insects, when he could discover them, affecting to despise them when he could not; but never forgetting them. One of these satires so violently irritated him, that he *swore* the author should die if he could find out who he was; “a very needless oath,” says, with *naïveté*, the writer who relates it; “his word would have been sufficient.”

The next principal affair effected under the auspices of the cardinal was the marriage of Henrietta of France, daughter of Henry IV. and sister of Louis XIII., with Charles, prince of Wales. The court of Spain had at first expressed a wish to unite an infanta of Spain with this prince, but it would scarcely appear they were in earnest. In addition to the difference of religion, which, with Spanish Catholics, was a serious objection, Spain was, if this marriage took place, to give up the palatinate; to do which she was as little inclined as the English monarch was anxious to obtain it back for his son-in-law. The Spaniards, jealous of the countries of France and England being too closely united, procrastinated this affair, in the hope that the daughters of France would all be married; but Charles, after his unpleasant trip to Madrid, in passing *incognito* through France, became enamoured of Henrietta, and, with the warmth of a lover, endeavoured immediately to bring about a union with that *princess*.

This marriage, which produced such serious consequences for England, was planned, as far as regards the propriety of it and the articles which were to accompany it, by the master-spirit of whose life and actions we are treating; and it is so exceedingly interesting, after seeing the results, to view the motives which guided him in the affair, that we think we shall be pardoned if we give a somewhat long extract from his most esteemed but partial biographer, Aubery:—

“The cardinal was then newly established in state affairs, but he soon made it apparent that he knew how to treat them: for the king desiring him to speak his mind freely upon this matter, he not only added many reasons to those that had been given at the first deliberation, but he likewise pointed out such judicious means to his majesty for conducting the treaty, that Louis could not sufficiently admire his prudence and sagacity.

“Among the reasons which rendered this alliance desirable, he represented to him that England being closely allied with France by this marriage, there was every reason to hope that they would unite their armies for the assistance of the princes of Germany, seeing that England had still more interest than France in re-establishing them. That this marriage would bring as much glory to the crown and state as abasement and confusion to their enemies; it being besides necessary to set bounds to the insolence of the Huguenots, this marriage would be wonderfully advantageous, inasmuch as it would prevent the king of Great Britain from lending them assistance, and the king of France might hope to obtain vessels from that country, with which to reduce the Rochellais to obedience. Besides all this, he added that there was great reason to hope that madame would not a little assist the advancement of the Roman Catholic religion in England, if she was dearly beloved by the king and the prince *her husband*, as no doubt she was; so that, on all sides,

he augured nothing but great happiness from the marriage, judging it advisable to employ all possible address and prudence to accomplish it speedily."

Aubery then proceeds to point out how far the result answered the cardinal's anticipations, and says, that but for the intrigues of the Duchess de Chevreuse, and the misconduct of some of the attendants who accompanied Henrietta, it would have been complete; as she quickly gained great influence over both James and his son Charles.

At the present day we are at a loss to conceive how such articles of marriage as those agreed upon by the two courts, could ever have been allowed to pass in England. From the second article we may trace troubles, an abdication, and a change of dynasty; but the cardinal little thought it would be the means of producing such a revolution and such a constitution as no other part of the world at any age has beheld. Every portion of these articles is favourable to the restoration of Romanism in England; but that which says that "the children born of this marriage shall be brought up and educated by madame in the Catholic religion up to the age of thirteen," was, no doubt, the source of much temporary evil, but of far more permanent good.

The above-named biographer, who published his work within twenty years after the cardinal's death, speaks out so plainly, when describing this marriage and the views of the French in promoting it, that we feel we should really spoil his opinions by giving them in any other words than his own. After detailing the marriage articles, he says:—"This was all that could be wished for at the time for the advantages of religion, until madame, who was endowed with every quality of mind and body that could render a princess beloved, should acquire a great power over the mind of King James, and that of his son, the prince of Wales, could finish the rest. The king expected this from her zeal and address with so much the more confidence,

from ladies having great influence over their husbands and their fathers-in-law, when they are dearly beloved by them."

The great effect of this union was the inclination to Romanism in Charles II., and the infatuated preference of it in James II.; otherwise, it goes, among hundreds of other instances of the kind, to prove that such ties have not the least strength when tested by national interests. Charles I. was soon at war with France, notwithstanding his close connection with the king of that country. How much blood and treasure were spent to prevent what was thought would prove the aggrandisement of the French by the accession of a Bourbon to the crown of Spain!—Before he died, Philip V. was at war with his native country.

Notwithstanding the fortunes and the credit of the cardinal appeared to be such as to excite envy, he experienced serious alarms as to his power, and was not at ease even with respect to his personal safety. He complained bitterly to the nuncio Spada, that, with regard to his fortunes, he served a prince who was by no means generous; that the recompense of his labours had been nothing but a small abbey, and that, loaded with debts, if he were to quit the ministry, he should be obliged to conceal himself from the pursuit of his creditors. "My credit," added he, "is not better established than my fortune. Placed between the queen-mother and her son, of diametrically opposite characters, I have the greatest trouble imaginable to lessen the repugnance of the one, and to moderate the temper of the other, and am constantly in danger of losing the good graces of both." The king, in particular, on perceiving the least inclination towards his mother in the conduct of the prelate, imagined that she had the preference in his mind and views, and directly took offence: in some of these moments of suspicion, influenced by the young favourites who surrounded

him, he was even ready to banish the cardinal to Rome. With respect to his safety, the following incident, one of the most remarkable of his life, will show how insecure it was.

In addition to his difficulties in managing the king and the queen-mother, no person gave him such constant and serious inquietude as the king's brother, Gaston, duke of Orleans. He was so weak a character, as to be at all times the tool of any party that wanted an apparent head; and was, at the same time, so cowardly in action and so infirm of purpose, that he was sure to abandon and betray all connected with him at the first appearance of danger: his life seemed to be one continued plot: every disaffected person turned their eyes naturally upon him; he immediately entered into their views, whatever they might be, but only to lead them astray and destroy them. Richelieu must have entertained a sovereign contempt for this prince, and would by some means have swept him from his path, had it not been for his peculiar position. Louis XIII., for more than twenty years after his marriage with Anne of Austria, had no children. By the evil offices of interested persons, a mutual dislike existed between them from almost the first days of their union, and they lived in a state of conventional divorce. Gaston then was during this long period heir apparent. Louis XIII. seldom enjoyed good health long together, and was more than once attacked by serious illness. Richelieu knew that Gaston did not like him; and yet, so dear was power to the cardinal, that he made it his constant object to keep on good terms with the man who might in a moment become his master. Indeed, the cardinal had more to dread than loss of power; enmities in those days did not stop at degradation, they were seldom satisfied with less than blood. Richelieu's power was grounded on terror; beyond his own immediate creatures he was hated by all *classes*, and there can be no doubt that his existence

would have terminated in a very short time after the decease of the king. To extricate Gaston from plots and rebellions, to prevent his attaining undue power, to endeavour to draw him into close connection with himself, and, that failing, to keep clear of mortally offending him, were the tasks of Richelieu as long as he lived after becoming minister. How galling such a contest with such a petty character must have been to Richelieu may be easily imagined. And here a reflection forces itself upon us. With all his acknowledged abilities, the life and ministry of Richelieu present less instruction to statesmen of our days than those of most other men in his position. His history furnishes abundance of incidents to the novelist and the play-writer, because it is made up of court cabals and intrigues, struggles to attain and maintain power, disgusting exhibitions of favouritism, frightful instances of perfidy and cruelty. His foreign policy might be comprised in a nut-shell—but the court intrigues in which he was not only mixed up, but was a principal agent, will take place next to fiction, as long as the passions and vices of men and women are objects of curiosity and interest. In a country enjoying anything approximating to a free government such things cannot possibly occur; not a single one of the many plots that stained the reign of Louis XIII. with perfidy and cruelty could be dreamt of now. But what is still more strange, the same contrast, or nearly the same, exists between the ministries of Richelieu and Colbert. It is true the power of Louis XIV. was more settled, determined, and arbitrary than that of his father. Louis XIII. had all possible inclination to be as despotic as his son, but the time was not come; and if it had, he had not strength of character enough to have reigned unassisted—he might have been as despotic as his son was, but he must always have ruled by proxy.

The history of the ministry of Richelieu is the history *of the court; the people stand for nothing in it but as*

objects of plunder. Neither women nor court intrigues enter into the account of the ministry of Colbert; the nation and its internal and foreign prosperity, including, far more than had ever before been thought of, attention to the interests of the people, were his objects, and steadily, wisely, and nobly he carried them out. We do not deny that the circumstances and the state of France and of Europe were widely different; we at the same time do not deny the great talents of Richelieu; but, as the prime minister of a great kingdom, whose mission is to guide it to, and keep it in, the road of prosperity and honour, we think Colbert ranks very far above Richelieu: as a man, we think there are few with any claims to distinction who do not.

Colonel d'Ornano, a man of courage and ability, but of a most restless, dissatisfied temperament, had been made governor of Gaston, the king's brother, and instead of regulating the conduct of the prince, and averting the dangers incidental to his position, seems not only to have thrown himself headlong into every court intrigue, but to have employed his influence over Gaston's mind to make him discontented and rebellious. This error was soon perceived by Richelieu, and D'Ornano would have been made quickly and painfully aware of his mistake, but the politic cardinal judged it best to temporise: D'Ornano was ambitious, presumed immoderately upon the favour of his young charge, and gave it to be understood that unless he were made a marshal the minister would repent. Richelieu and the king hesitated whether they should arrest him or exalt him; but the cardinal deemed it best to comply with his wishes, saying, he might prove grateful for the baton, and if he should not be so, it would be as easy to arrest the marshal as the colonel.

It has been justly remarked by one of Richelieu's numerous biographers, that one of his principles explains his conduct in many circumstances. When nobles or

gentlemen, whose birth or merit gave them any pretensions, solicited employments or favours, he, by system, granted them more even than they had a right to hope for ; but, when once exalted, if they exhibited any symptoms of discontent, or if he found that instead of being grateful they were in any way opposed to him, he treated them without mercy ; the highest rank, the greatest merit, the longest services, were no protection against his wrath. D'Ornano experienced this. Favours only seemed to incite him to fresh intrigues against his apparent benefactors. The cardinal was the great obstacle to the ambition of the princes and nobles who filled the court, consequently there was always a cabal in existence against him. A marriage was proposed between Monsieur, as the eldest brother of a king of France is always styled, and Mademoiselle de Montpensier, a most beautiful person, and, at that time, the richest heiress in Europe. This union was opposed to the views of D'Ornano ; he dreaded the influence of a beautiful woman, particularly one so circumstanced, over the weak mind of his charge, and he did all in his power to set Gaston against the marriage. Not satisfied with this, he was constantly feeding the discontent and raising the hopes of the prince. The king's constitution was weak ; although married several years, he had no children, and the eyes of the newly-made marshal were dazzled with the hopes of one day ruling France as prime minister. But in such a path he crossed that of a more powerful genius than his own ; with his usual decision and promptitude, Richelieu had him arrested, sent him to the Bastille, and kept him there as long as he lived.

But the seeds of discontent sown in the mind of Gaston did not fail to germinate ; a serious plot, in which he was involved, quickly after broke out, of which the imprudent Chalais, master of the wardrobe, was the victim. There does not appear to have been a plot worthy of notice, for

years, in France, in which the Duchess de Chevreuse was not concerned. A fascinating woman, of considerable talent and extraordinary beauty, she employed the advantages of nature, together with consummate art, to seduce her various lovers into her views, and make them minister to them with the zeal of passion. In this melancholy affair, her magic influence was exercised over more than one of the conspirators ; Chalais and the Grand Prieur, Vendome, were both her lovers.

The unfortunate Chalais, master of the wardrobe, the issue of the illustrious and ancient house of Talleyrand-Perigord, enjoying the favour of the king, and holding a distinguished post in the court, might have created for himself a fate worthy of envy, if, as an ardent and imprudent lover, he had not been hurried into extravagant projects, the success of which could have procured him no personal advantage. "The intrigue," says Anquetil, "which led Chalais to the scaffold, resembles one of those family events in which neighbours, strangers, and even servants are mixed up. From malice, inconsiderate zeal, or curiosity, they examine the affair, draw wrong conclusions respecting it ; they report it in an altered aspect, and making an important matter of a trifle, expose the fortune, honour, and sometimes the lives of the persons compromised." Thus in this unfortunate affair, by the side of the first persons in the state, figured obscure people in servile conditions, duellists, notorious women, and a multitude of intriguers, who were treated with contempt, whilst one illustrious head paid the forfeit for all the rest.

Monsieur had been persuaded that it was Richelieu who prevented his having free access to his brother, or obtaining from him the favours he was desirous of. "If the cardinal were not in existence," he was told, "you would become all-powerful, by the ascendancy you would acquire over the king; he must, therefore, be got rid of; and Louis himself, tired of the tyranny of the prelate, will not be displeased

by the event." With this view, a troop of giddy young men formed a plot to assassinate the cardinal at Limours, a country-house at a short distance from Fontainebleau, to which he sometimes retired. Chalais was to strike the first blow, and was to fly into Holland until he had obtained the king's pardon. Pressed, perhaps, by some feeling of remorse, he told his secret to the commander of Valence. He was disgusted with the idea of assassination, and told the cardinal of it, as if the avowal came from Chalais: this he did with a view of mitigating Richelieu's anger. Valence's tale was, that, under the pretence of dining at Limours, Monsieur would send his officers to the house; when he himself should have arrived, a pretended quarrel should take place, of which advantage was to be taken to consummate the enterprise. Richelieu would not, at first, believe the story; but his doubts were quickly dispelled by the arrival of the announced party. The cardinal immediately called for his carriage, and drove to Fontainebleau, where Gaston was. He presented himself boldly before him, and said, "If your royal highness intended to make an entertainment in my house, I should have been flattered by being permitted to do the honours of it; but as you wish to be at perfect liberty, I give it up to your pleasure." Having pronounced these few words, without waiting for a reply, the cardinal bowed and retired, leaving Monsieur and his accomplices in the greatest confusion.

Terrified at such a black conspiracy, Richelieu endeavoured to fathom the motives of it; he interrogated several persons, interested the family of Chalais, with which he was intimately connected, and questioned Chalais himself very closely. He obtained more excuses than confessions; but yet enough of the latter to draw from the foolish young man some words of repentance, and to allow him to tell him that a melancholy fate awaited him if he meddled with intrigues again. But this was a vain

threat to one equally an enthusiast in love and friendship. There are proofs that he loved Madame de Chevreuse, who had been the widow of the Constable de Luynes; and that she detested the cardinal, who had, as it is said, from jealousy, thwarted her in her love for Buckingham, whom she adored: others say it was the earl of Holland she loved, an intimate friend of Buckingham's, and who came into France with him. It is not therefore certain that this lady paid Chalais with an equal return, but she gave the young man sufficient encouragement to inspire him with her own feelings of hatred, and to engage him in her plans of vengeance against the cardinal.

Chalais was also the inseparable friend of the Chevalier de Vendôme, Grand Prieur of France. The latter had won his regard by offering to be his second in a quarrel. The Grand Prieur professed himself to be the open enemy of Richelieu, whom he accused of diverting from his house the favours the king was willing to bestow upon it. He had inspired with his own discontent his brother, the Duke de Vendôme, governor of Bretagne, like himself, a son of Henry IV., and spared no pains to impart his hatred to all who approached him. This was, indeed, the only passion that engendered this conspiracy. We do find in it an English agent, and an Abbé Scaglia, the ambassador from Savoy; but they must be considered less as political representatives than ministers of hatred: the first, an instrument of the animosity of Buckingham; the second, a proud man, the personal enemy of Richelieu, who boasted of *being the only Mardocheus who had not bowed the knee before this haughty Aman*.

Early in the month of July, 1626, the court repaired to Nantes to celebrate the marriage of Monsieur with Mademoiselle de Montpensier, the beautiful and immensely wealthy heiress, whom this volatile prince had for some time refused to espouse. When arrived at Nantes, people found with astonishment that a criminal trial was to be mixed up

with the marriage festivities. We must, says an author, writing on this subject, have more detailed memoirs than any we are possessed of, to know who was the powerful noble who, upon his return to court, after several years of absence, found his mistress attached to a gentleman named Louvigni, the confidant of Chalais. The latter, in order to win this important personage over to their party, endeavoured to persuade Louvigni to renounce the lady, who was said to be a woman of high quality. Louvigni refused, and was forced to fight with the Duke de Candale, the son of the Duke d'Epéron; which leads us to suspect, with great probability, that Candale was the supplanted party. The favoured lover found himself, on account of this quarrel, threatened with ill-treatment by powerful persons, and he imagined that he had no better means to extricate himself than to seek for protection from the Cardinal de Richelieu, to whom he related all he knew, true or false, of the projects of the master of the wardrobe. Thus the matter is related by Montglat, Madame de Motteville, and Bassompierre.

Louvigni, in his deposition, implicated many persons of the highest rank at court; but the Count de Chalais alone was arrested, on the 8th of July. Louis XIII., as happened to him several times during his life, passed from the warmest affection for Chalais to the bitterest hatred. He was taught to believe that Chalais detested him; that, in the discharge of his duties near his person, he could not refrain from contemptuous gestures when the king's back was turned; that he was, when all his batteries were ready, to arrest the king; that after that, he was to be declared unfit for marriage, and the throne was to be given to his wife and Monsieur. He found in the letters of the master of the wardrobe and Madame de Chevreuse many things not very respectful towards himself: these young people laughed at the king's coldness of constitution, and his other natural defects. Besides much levity,

which may be fairly attributed to him, and much rashness in his designs, Richelieu assured the nuncio Spada that Chalais had engaged Gaston to many projects that might have become very prejudicial to the peace of the kingdom: such as quitting the court, retiring to La Rochelle, and raising the Huguenots; he had likewise planned an intrigue to procure Gaston a retreat at Metz, and another for having the Bastille given up to him; he had advised the Duke de Montmorenci to allow himself to be beaten by the Rochellais: in short, he had applied himself incessantly to effect means of injuring him, and had armed against him a cabal of twenty-five of the most distinguished persons of the court.

Richelieu employed, in the unfortunate affair of Chalais, an iniquitous process, of which he was not the inventor, but of which he made more frequent use than any other person in power had done; he tried Chalais by a commission. This commission was composed of counsellors of state, masters of the requests, and counsellors of the parliament of Brittany, presided over by Michael de Marillac, keeper of the seals. The friends of the cardinal caused it to be reported that he had adopted this mode of trial out of consideration for the honour of the families who were implicated in it, in order that their names might not remain inscribed upon the registers of an ordinary tribunal: but the public believed, and with reason, that he pursued this plan only to be avenged more promptly and surely; for such commissions were always composed of the creatures of the minister, or of persons entirely devoted to him. The trial was preceded by an act as irregular as it was: Richelieu went to the prison, and interrogated Chalais himself. It is impossible to ascertain what took place at this interview. The public documents which favour the prisoner assert that the cardinal promised him pardon if he confessed the crimes of which he was accused; and that, under the influence of this

hope, he confessed several false things, which he retracted on the scaffold. On the other side, the partisans of the cardinal say that it was from pity that he undertook to draw the truth from this young man, whom he loved; that he would have obtained pardon if he had been ingenuous; and that he was only punished because he endeavoured to deceive the cardinal with respect to facts, of which he possessed proofs. If this visit gave hopes to Chalais, they lasted no longer than the time required to calm the terrors of Gaston. On learning the imprisonment of Chalais, the prince prepared to make his escape; but he was detained, nay more, he was married on the 5th of August to Mademoiselle de Montpensier, and received, in addition to her immense fortune, a large apanage from the state, with the titles of Duke of Orleans and Chartres, Count of Blois, Lord of Montargis, &c. &c. Mademoiselle Montpensier brought him the sovereignty of Dombes, the principality of La Roche-sur-Yon, the duchies of Montpensier and Chatelleraut, the estate of St. Fargeau, with other counties, viscounties, and baronies, and enormous sums of money. We enter into this last detail to show how impossible it is to satisfy the wishes of some people; with all these honours and this wealth, this man was never contented or quiet.

Chalais was informed of this marriage by the report of the cannon; he said nothing, but awaited in sadness the fate which the event announced to him. He was already prepared by the treatment he had undergone from the first of the month. He was placed in a cell, from which he was brought before the commissioners on the 11th. No one knows what was asked of him, whether there were witnesses against him, or whether they were confronted with others; there remains no document to throw a light upon this strange trial, the papers relative to which were all carefully kept from the knowledge of the public:

if we were in possession of them, we might find circumstances that would make him appear less guilty. His defenders say that advantage was taken of the complaints and regrets which escaped him during his captivity, which were collected by his guards, who were admitted as witnesses against him. On Tuesday, the 18th of August, on the *sellette*, which is the same as being at the bar in England, he persisted in saying that he had been thirteen days a member of the faction; but that he had only remained so by order of the king and the cardinal, on the king's service.

It appears that the unfortunate young man was not put to the question. Some say that he exclaimed on the scaffold: "*This is not what was promised me. Cursed cardinal, thou hast deceived me!*" Others assert that he said expressly: "*It was not from the hopes of pardon that were given me that I confessed; but because my conviction was complete.*" Amidst this chaos of contradictions, all that can be positively said is, that if Chalais was condemned justly, he was, at least, condemned very irregularly. His sentence was pronounced on the 19th, and was carried into execution the same day. The efforts of his friends to delay the execution, in the hopes of obtaining pardon, only served to add to the physical suffering of the punishment. They got possession of the person of the regular executioner, and concealed him. The authorities employed a criminal who was supposed to be expert in this horrible trade, but who caused him to endure great and protracted pain. The unfortunate Count de Chalais received one stroke of the sword and thirty-four blows of a cooper's axe, retaining his sense of pain, as was proved by his cries, to the twentieth! We cannot read this melancholy circumstance without conceiving a warm and just indignation against Richelieu; in the inflictions of all punishments he was cruel. Justice and sound policy may

require their victims ; but barbarity only makes the immolation disgusting, and diverts men's minds from the crime to the punishment.

The mother of Chalais, of the noble house of Montluc, did all that can be expected from a tender and desolate parent. She implored the pardon of her son with all the eloquence of grief ; but Louis, Mary de Medici, and Richelieu, were inflexible. Gaston, also, made vain efforts in favour of Chalais ; he sent the President de Coigneux to entreat the cardinal that, conformably with the promise of the king, brought to his royal highness by the same Coigneux, the execution might be postponed a few days. "*I can do nothing in the matter,*" coldly replied Richelieu. Enraged at seeing himself thus trifled with, Monsieur had his horses put to his carriage, directed his minister to oppose the execution of Chalais until he had been heard in the presence of Louvigni, and retired to Chateau-Briart to avoid being a spectator of the bloody tragedy that was being prepared. Chalais and Louvigni were confronted before the keeper of the seals and the other judges. The former denied everything. The latter was then asked how he learnt the conspiracy against the king. "Being out shooting," replied the confused and hesitating Louvigni, "I heard some persons, dressed in gray, whom I do not know, say to each other, behind a bush, all that I have repeated to several noblemen of the court." From this miserable evasion, every unprejudiced person concluded that Louvigni had been suborned by the Cardinal de Richelieu.

A biographer has a sacred duty to perform ; he must neither "extenuate, nor set down aught in malice ;" he should, if possible, divest himself of every bias, partiality, or prejudice. If we have given too dark a shade to the portrait of the cardinal in this picture, we cannot allow it to be entirely attributed to the natural leaning of all persons of good feeling towards the suffering. The prin-

cial authority in favour of Richelieu is his historian Aubery; but his work is so entire a eulogy of Louis XIII. and his minister, that in cases of importance like this his evidence can scarcely be admitted. Aubery wrote under the regency, as it may be called, of Mazarin. Mazarin was the *protégé* of Richelieu, and was warmly recommended to Louis XIII. by the dying cardinal; Aubery also wrote in the reign of Louis XIV., the son of Louis XIII.; the consequence of both which facts is, that he gives a colouring to the actions of king and minister that posterity must know to be a false one: we judge of causes by effects.

Among the persons engaged in this famous plot, there is mention of an agent of the duke of Buckingham. This compels us to retrace our steps for a short distance. This favourite of James I. and Charles I. had been the companion of the prince of Wales into Spain and France; and when the marriage of Charles with Henrietta was resolved on, was sent to Paris as the proxy of that prince, now king, usual in royal marriages. This was very annoying to Richelieu, as there existed an antipathy between the two ministers, arising, in some degree, from difference of character, but which was heightened by other fortuitous circumstances. With the reckless gallantry of the age, Buckingham had declared himself the admirer of Anne of Austria; and the cardinal, notwithstanding his great self-command, was strongly suspected of not being insensible to the charms of that young and beautiful princess. "This English nobleman," says Madame de Motteville, a contemporary, "was well made, and of a handsome countenance; he had an exalted mind, and was magnificent and liberal."

The favourite of a powerful king, he had at his command all the royal treasures to expend; and, it is said, the crown jewels to adorn himself with. Buckingham brought in his train all the wealthy and handsome youth

of England. Frenchmen being not much inclined to jealousy, and Frenchwomen being naturally disposed to gallantry, all viewed with equal delight the coming of this brilliant and giddy troop: all hearts were quickly in intelligence, and pleasures formed connections which Richelieu could not behold without umbrage. The assumption of Buckingham had offended him; and his love for Anne of Austria, which he made no effort to conceal, completed the dislike for him, not only of Richelieu, but of every sensible person of the court. In fact, Buckingham not only presented himself before the queen as a man who wished to please, but he spoke plainly, and accompanied his declaration with the ordinary imprudencies of the passion of love; such as sighs, fits of absence, inconsiderate eagerness, affected languor, precipitate departure, sudden returns. Every one perceived all this, and the king himself not the last. He conceived violent suspicions against his young queen: and yet the most malignant tongues have not been able to reproach her with anything but not having instantly repulsed, with sufficient haughtiness, the gallantries of a man whose love she perhaps viewed with secret complacency, but without any return, on her part, beyond the ordinary inclination naturally felt by the most prudent women not to be harsh to persons who evidently love them.

Richelieu, in order to please his master, and gratify his own spleen, contrived to inflict several mortifications upon the amorous ambassador, which produced none but evil results. Buckingham was not a man to be insulted with impunity. As for the poor young queen, the jealousy of the king and the cardinal brought her nothing but misery; and if she was pleased with the attentions of the English duke, it was a gratification dearly purchased: the king became a keen-sighted spy upon all her actions, and the cardinal was her enemy to the hour of his death.

Early as this was in the cardinal's ministry, the character

of it was soon displayed. Vieuville, who had introduced him to the council, and had been his patron, was disgraced, and a prisoner in the castle of Amboise; Chalais was executed under doubtful circumstances; of the two sons of Henry IV., the grand prieur died in prison at Amboise, and the Duke of Vendôme was not liberated till after he had confessed all that was required of him; and Marshal Ornano died in prison at Vincennes. There can be no doubt that this plot was a serious one, from the names and numbers of the parties engaged in it; but as it was principally directed against the cardinal, and no proof was ever adduced of its extending to the king, it either proves that Richelieu was generally and justly hated, or that he, as the severe censor of corruption and immorality, raised a combination against him of the vicious and the frivolous: perhaps truth adopts a middle opinion.

It was on this memorable occasion the cardinal first played off a piece of hypocrisy, which he practised so frequently afterwards, that the king must have been either immensely obtuse to be so imposed upon, or else have felt really his inability to do without his minister. Richelieu affected to be deeply wounded by the appearance of public dislike; he said that all his earnest endeavours for the good of the king and the state were misrepresented, encountered nothing but malignity, and made him bitter enemies. His spirits and his health, he told the king, sunk under this severe trial, and he begged to be allowed to retire from public affairs. But in no instance did this wily politician make this offer but when his master was involved in such difficulties as to cause him to dread being left to his own resources. The weak king was made sensible of disaffection; was taught to believe that more of it attached to his person than really did; he was jealous of his brother and his wife, and dreaded the influence of his mother over the never-contented nobles; he was at war with Spain; *the thirty years' war* was going on in

Germany ; and he was perpetually either at war with the Huguenots, or in fear of their rebellion :—how could such a man as Louis, at such a time, consent to part with a minister clear in head, prompt in hand, and indefatigable in vigilance ? He implored the cardinal not to desert him ; and, as in every other such instance, the request increased instead of diminishing the burden of power which Richelieu affected to be tired of, but which was as dear to him as the breath of life. A guard was granted to the cardinal, with the city of Brouage as a place of safety or retreat. So much did this intrigue increase his power, that it was generally suspected he had designedly raised and kept up this storm to afford him an opportunity of crushing his enemies.

The fate of Anne of Austria became pitiable. The hatred of Richelieu was like an incubus ; in great and in little things he seemed to take a delight to show it. He instituted great reforms in her household ; several of her confidential women were dismissed ; the *entrée* of men to her apartments, even at the hour of the *circle*, was prohibited, except in the king's presence ; a severe etiquette was established, which put an end to all the innocent pleasures naturally loved by a young and beautiful woman. Anne was deeply hurt at this petty malignity ; but being helpless against the cardinal's power, she was forced to dissemble, and passed the best days of her youth in anxiety and ennui.

With Mary de Medici, against whom his hatred soon broke out, there was something like an excuse, if not for that passion, at least for suspicion and watchfulness. She was a restless, violent woman, of sufficient consequence and ability to be a focus of discontent ; but Anne of Austria, born without any taste for court intrigue, never formed one. Out of partiality to some of her women, she, in order to screen them, sometimes allowed her name to be mixed with affairs of which she had no knowledge,

but which issued from the busy brains of Madame de Chevreuse and others. As to her secret correspondence with her brother, the king of Spain, what could be more natural than that she should wish to keep up a connection with one so near her, particularly as she was made to feel she was alone in a strange land? We have no reason to think the correspondence would have been secret if she had been allowed to carry it on openly.

The queen never sought to please any one but her husband; and would, no doubt, have succeeded if the odious policy of the queen-mother and the cardinal had not prevented her. An anecdote told by Madame de Motteville is sufficient to prove this. Louis one day confessed to one of his favourites,—for, be it observed, that he never was without one,—that he thought his wife very handsome: “But I dare not,” he added, “show any affection for her, for fear of displeasing the queen my mother and the cardinal, whose counsels and services are of more consequence to me than taking pleasure in the society of my wife.”

The duke of Buckingham, affecting to be still enamoured of the queen, and stimulated by his vanity to lead the world to think he had succeeded in pleasing her, used every exertion to be recalled to France: he offered to come there to negotiate a durable peace; but the jealousy of Louis always shut the ports of his kingdom against him.

One proof of Anne of Austria's love for Louis was, that she was very jealous of him. She was exceedingly anxious for a family; and, in accordance with the spirit of the age, frequently made pilgrimages with the hope of obtaining that blessing. The king required her, from jealousy, constantly to accompany him; and in his most dangerous illness he was principally indebted to her care for his recovery.

CHAPTER IV.

The Huguenots—La Rochelle—Treaty of Mançon—Disputes of Henrietta in the English court—Peace with the Huguenots.

WE now come to a circumstance in the life of Richelieu which is generally said to redound very much to his honour; if, amongst all the means he employed to obtain success, he sometimes had recourse to what a man of feeling would have shrunk from, the whole of the affair, both in conception and execution, proves the soundness of his political views.

No country was ever more uncomfortably situated than France at the period of the majority of Louis XIII., with regard to the religious opinions of the inhabitants. Although the majority of the kingdom were Roman Catholics, a great and a formidable number were Protestants, or otherwise, Calvinists. These latter had been elevated into a great party in preceding reigns. The persecutions of Francis I., with the horrors of the reigns of Charles IX. and Henry III., under the auspices of the odious Catherine de Medici, had, as is always the case with such proceedings, only exasperated the Protestants and increased their number. When Henry IV., out of policy instead of conviction, changed his religion, although he obtained peace and a kingdom by the doubtful act, we have no reason to think that many were converted with him. His Protestant subjects felt that he was still one of them in his heart; and though his firm hand kept both faiths upon as good and peaceful terms as possible, yet there was nothing to induce the new church to revert back again to the old. The edict of Nantes was appreciated by the Protestants, and was esteemed a wise and a prudent step by the

judicious of all creeds ; but it festered in the hearts of the Catholics.

Richelieu was not only awakened to the consideration of this question by the mutual aggressions of both parties ; his political wisdom pointed out to him that France was labouring under an anomaly which must destroy the peace and prosperity of any country. There might be said to be two governments, two interests, two leading objects in one kingdom. The name of religion became, as it has occasionally been in Europe for a thousand years, an excuse for the ambitious, designing, and disaffected. Men quarrelled, or affected to quarrel, about a difference of shade in Christianity, who were not governed by one Christian principle. The cities granted to the Protestants as places of safety became places of refuge even to persons who had sinned against the laws of society. The rebel against the king, under the plea of faith, found succour and encouragement in cities that professed to be the property of that king, and part of his kingdom. Ambitious nobles, when aiming at a participation, at least, of sovereign rule, looked upon the cities of the Protestants as so many strongholds in which they might defy regal authority. Thus Richelieu, in entering seriously into the contest with the Huguenots, attacked two of the greatest evils France laboured under—a double government, and a too powerful nobility. At first, it may be said that the Huguenot nobility were not the most dangerous : this we allow ; but in all national quarrels the disaffected make common cause.

About the year 1618, the reformed party became very uneasy at the strong partiality shown to the Catholics by the government. At an assembly held by them at Lindun, in 1619, they agreed to make common cause with their brethren, who were then menaced in Bearn. Their remonstrances to the king were vain ; and, two years later, in a general assembly at La Rochelle, they divided

their 700 churches into eight circles, and drew up a kind of constitution in forty-seven articles, in which were regulated, *by the authority of the king*, as they said, the levies for the pay and discipline of troops ; which was nothing short of creating a separate government in the state. Louis XIII. marched against them, and subdued Saintonge and Poitou. La Rochelle was invested, and Montauban, defended by the Marquis de la Force, sustained a glorious siege, which uselessly cost the lives of 8,000 Catholics, among whom was the Duke of Mayenne, son of the celebrated leader of the League, in the preceding century. A cry was raised throughout France against the then reigning favourite, the Duke de Luynes, to whom these reverses were attributed. Whilst suffering under this additional cause of hatred, De Luynes was attacked by fever, and died. Lesdigierès, a leader in the royal army, being a Protestant, found the temptation of the rank of constable too strong for his faith, and was converted for the sake of succeeding to the envied post of the deceased favourite. This conversion became a signal for a great defection in the Calvinist party. The Marquis de la Force, and the Count de Châtillon, grandson of Coligni, surrendered, the one Montauban, the other Aigues-Mortes, for a pecuniary gratification and a marshal's baton. What would the stout admiral have said to this defalcation in his grandson ? Rohan remained incorruptible, but was desirous of peace. This was signed at Montpellier, by the advice of Mary de Medici, who was jealous of the influence of the Prince de Condé, which always increased in time of war, and diminished in peace. By this peace the edict of Nantes was confirmed ; the king permitted the Protestants to assemble for the interests of their worship, but he interdicted all political meetings.

It was after the peace of Montpellier, signed in 1621, *that Richelieu* had obtained the cardinal's hat, and the

Marquis de Vieuville had thrown open the doors of the council chamber to him.

The calamities of France arose from the weakness of the king, the ambition of the princes of the blood, constantly grasping at a share of power, and the pride and insatiable avidity of the nobles, accustomed to sell their obedience and their services, and always at the command of any leader of a party, formidable to royalty, who had the least chance of satisfying their thirst for wealth. The strength of France became thus constantly divided, the government uncertain, the treasury an allowed object of pillage, and the whole kingdom a prey to anarchy. The Spaniards took advantage of these calamities to dominate in the council, by means of members purchaseable by their gold; and their powerful political influence held the Protestant party in a constant alarm, without, however, crushing it; it accustomed it to look upon itself as a separate division of the nation; thence a redoubtable scourge to France. Many strong places still belonged to the Calvinists; and seduced by the successful example of the United Provinces, they formed the chimerical idea of constituting themselves into a republic, of which La Rochelle was to have been the bulwark and the capital.

But, as we have said, much of the above was changed the moment Richelieu began to feel firm in his seat in the council. His policy was always heedless of creeds: he saw the evil of the claims of the Calvinists, but he deemed attention to the Spaniards most necessary. He assisted a Protestant people, by sending succour to the Grisons against their Catholic vassals, the inhabitants of the Valteline. The Marquis de Cœuvres advanced rapidly into this important valley; repulsed the papal troops, and took the strong places as fast as he could come to them.

The Spaniards avenged themselves by offering their support to the *Calvinists*, who began loudly to complain

that the conditions of the peace of Montpellier were not observed, and that the government was erecting fresh forts round La Rochelle. The articles of this peace were objects of contention; the Rochellois said the king had no right to build forts; the Catholic government, on the other side, said that the Rochellois not being converted to Romanism, as they had agreed to be, the king was at liberty to take means to keep them in subjection. We have no opportunity of examining these articles, but it seems inconsistent with the still strong state of the Protestants to suppose they should have made such an agreement.

The granting them permission to enjoy their worship, and at the same time to require them to abandon it, appears plain contradiction; Aubery, nevertheless, says the Catholics had the advantage in the argument.

The Rochellois believed themselves to be so much injured, that they were the aggressors in the renewal of the war. The moment they thought Cœuvres was engaged in the Valteline, Soubise, their naval commander, took possession of the island of Rhé, which constituted the security of the port of La Rochelle, and Rohan, now the Protestant leader, raised Languedoc. Richelieu immediately sent D'Epernon, Thémînes, and Montmorenci against them; Montmorenci dispersed their fleet, and Thoiras carried the isle of Rhé. After these mischances, the Rochellois were again glad to obtain peace. Public clamour on this occasion attacked the cardinal for not crushing the Calvinist party, which now seemed so much weakened; but it was never his policy entirely to destroy a public grievance—he made a wide distinction between that and a private enemy. On this occasion he replied, “Yes, I have scandalised the world once more;” alluding, by these words, to his alliance with the Grisons and the English, as well as the marriage of Madame with the Protestant king of England.

The war against the Spaniards and the Pope in the Valteline, was, for a time, terminated by the treaty of Monçon, in Arragon, in 1625; a treaty not at all disadvantageous to France. Richelieu hastened to conclude it, in order to face the court storm which was brewing against him, and which we described before turning our attention to the Huguenots. .

Charles I., king of England, had placed four Protestant ladies, the duchess of Buckingham, the marchioness of Hamilton, and the countesses of Denbigh and Carlisle, about the person of his queen; but he said nothing to her about removing those who had come with her from France, or her other French domestics. When we recollect the views of the pope and the French court with regard to this marriage, we cannot be surprised that Henrietta's attendants would quickly misconduct themselves, and awaken the Protestant jealousy of the English government and people. Henrietta soon found the difference between the despotic court of France and the country into which she had married, where well-understood liberty was attaining full growth and power. She, no doubt, had influence over the husband who loved her; and she so far carried out the scheme of her family as to educate, to their cost, her sons in the Romish faith; but she never made the least progress in proselytising the people of England. With the French writers of this time the court is everything, and to the king of England alone they lay the blame of not keeping his word with regard to the queen's French attendants. Whether the deed was his or his best advisers', without preparing her for a separation, which could only have bred useless altercation, as parting from her attendants must, necessarily, have wounded her feelings and hurt her pride, all the foreigners were at once sent to Somerset House, and received orders to prepare to return to France in four-and-twenty hours. The king went to see them, declared

his will, and made them some presents ; but their requests for delay were not listened to, and they were immediately embarked. The French writers, whilst relating this affair with considerable acrimony, admit that these persons had misconducted themselves, and that it might have been otherwise if they had not. Henrietta, deeply offended, wrote directly to France, complaining of the infraction of the marriage articles, and demanding the protection and support of the king her brother. Louis and his council were much embarrassed, being very desirous to avoid a rupture with England. Richelieu proposed to send Marshal Bassompierre, as ambassador extraordinary, in order to arrange a matter amicably which the cardinal apprehended might produce unpleasant consequences. The expedient was so much the better received by Louis and his ministers, as they saw the dangers of a war that might overthrow all their plans against La Rochelle. The instructions for the marshal were drawn up at Nantes, where the king then was, and his majesty ordered him to prepare to depart immediately. Louis was at the same time informed that Montague was on his way to Nantes, to offer the king of England's compliments on the marriage of the duke of Orleans with the Princess de Montpensier, which had then recently taken place. The cardinal caused Montague to be informed that he must retrace his steps ; he suspected him, with reason, to be a creature of Buckingham's. Montague was followed by Castleton, who begged the king, on the part of his master, to excuse the proceedings he had found it necessary to adopt with respect to the queen of England's foreign attendants. The messenger and his compliments were very coolly received, and orders were sent to Bassompierre to return immediately. These mutual discontents of the two courts threatened a rupture ; but it does not appear that Buckingham had then engaged Charles to break with France. Infatuated with his silly

amours in France, the favourite of Charles I., says the Duke de Rohan, in his memoirs, thought to take advantage of the misunderstanding which he himself caused, to see the queen, Anne of Austria, of whom he openly declared himself the lover. Buckingham offered to come to Paris, as ambassador extraordinary, promising to arrange the differences to his majesty's satisfaction. But, by the advice of Richelieu, Louis would not consent to his coming. The vanity of the favourite was severely wounded by this refusal; and, despairing to see the object of his passion, he formed the resolution of proving to her that if he was not born a king, his power was but little inferior to that of crowned heads. "Since I am refused admittance into France, as an ambassador desirous of bringing peace, I will force an entrance, in spite of the French, as the leader of an army bringing war." From that time he set about his project seriously. "This is the way," adds the Duke de Rohan, "that silly court affairs cause the convulsions of kingdoms. The interests of favourites are generally the origin of the evils with which peoples are affected; they not unfrequently make use of their masters to increase their own fortunes, and sometimes even to revenge their private quarrels."

But Leclerc, an intelligent biographer of Richelieu, gives a very different version of the affair of Henrietta's attendants to that furnished by the cardinal's eulogists. He says: "The French priests went into England more as missionaries than as followers of the queen, and carried with them all the spirit of their class, which is to insinuate themselves into affairs, public or private, and to make as much disturbance as possible; as the more a missionary causes himself to be talked about, the higher is his reward on his return from his mission. The indiscretion of these men, who already fancied themselves in possession of the best English benefices, caused great disorders in the court, and drew the attention of a party towards the king, which

afterwards destroyed him, without any beneficial results to the Catholic religion. On the contrary, it was so completely ruined by them, that neither he nor his sons, who entertained the same wish with their father, were able to establish it." We English readers perceive by this that Catholics think Charles I. was as much inclined to Romanism as his sons Charles and James.

Soubise, on the part of the Rochellois, was in England at that time, but was not received at court, though the king did not dare to dismiss him for fear of offending his Protestant subjects, who had with reason already begun to murmur at Charles having sent seven vessels against the Rochellois. A suspicion was now entertained that it was the secret policy of the two monarchs to establish Romanism in both countries; their position, however, was very different; Richelieu's policy in suppressing the Huguenots, as constituting a second government in the state, was prudent and sound, whereas in England the affair was just the reverse: the majority of Charles's subjects were Protestants, and he must have been totally ignorant of the character of the English if he expected to convert them without a struggle dangerous to himself. But Charles never understood the character of his people, or his own position among them.

Blainville, the French ambassador at London, had orders to require Charles I. to forbid his subjects to assist Soubise, or receive his vessels into their ports, and to expel them as enemies. The French council likewise directed Blainville to observe that his most Christian majesty hoped the king of England would not take it ill if the French ships pursued the vessels of the Rochellois into British ports and destroyed them there: this was not like the former demand, required, but only named as a courtesy he hoped he might expect from his brother-in-law. In order to appease the murmurs of his subjects, Charles replied that the king of France ought to be satisfied with Soubise

not being admitted at court; but as to expelling the ships from his ports, that was a matter quite out of the question. He likewise hinted that it would be more to the interests of the king of France to be at peace with his own subjects, as it would render him more capable of contending against his enemies. Upon this Blainville assumed a higher tone, and threatened the English with reprisals: "If the English choose to harbour a rebel subject of France, they may some day meet with a retort in kind, that will much annoy them: nevertheless, as there seems to be an importance attached to the person of Soubise, I will say no more about him; but not so with the ships; they were the property of my master and his subjects, they have been unlawfully seized by Soubise, and the French will recapture them wherever they may find them."

Far from listening to these complaints or threats, the king of England redemanded his vessels of the king of France, and as no attention was paid to his claims, he seized some French vessels that were in his ports.

The Rochellois began to perceive the aim of Louis and his minister; they perceived by the conditions offered to them that their privileges were all in danger, and that it was their intention to deprive them of all means of defending their rights. They therefore sent deputies to the court of London, requesting assistance if the war should continue. This petition was well received by the English privy council, and part of their fleet was ordered to hold itself in readiness.

Notwithstanding this, the king of England evidently did not wish to break with France, but sent ambassadors to propose to form a league for the re-establishment of the Elector Palatine, to endeavour to procure peace with the Rochellois, and to demand the vessels of war which had been lent to the French government the year before. Louis replied, *that with regard to the first article, he had*

particular reasons for not entering into such a league, but he should, perhaps, adopt means of re-establishing the elector without that. As for the Rochellois, he would not refuse them peace when they returned to their duty, but he would not condescend to treat with any foreign power in a question concerning his own subjects. With regard to the vessels, there was one, a British vessel of war, which he would return; but the others being armed merchant-vessels, let to him by contract for as long a period as he wanted them, he should only return them when he thought proper.

Although, in speaking of the Rochellois, the ambassadors said that they were only influenced in their advice by their desire for the common good of France, that they had no connection with them, and only wished the powers of Louis to be free to act against their common enemies, the Spaniards, in a very short time, the British privy council ordered succours to be sent to La Rochelle, recalled their ambassadors from France, and determined upon sending Buckingham upon an expedition to be authorized by the parliament. Buckingham affected to say to Blainville that he was very sorry to see the two crowns come to such a point; that he should lose the whole fruit of the services he had rendered France, as he was in danger from the parliament on that account; that the king his master had assisted in ruining Soubise, from his affection for the king of France, and from his desire to chastise a rebellious subject; but now, when he saw the extermination of those of his religion in France was determined on, he could not remain neuter, and he was supported by his council and the whole of his nation. He added, that their allies would be exposed to great dangers, and that the Spaniards would not fail to derive advantages from this misunderstanding. He finished his speech with the mean threat that most likely the queen and *what* attendants she had left would suffer by this rupture.

Louis, when made aware of this disposition of the English, resolved to finish the business with the Rochellois as quickly as possible. They had sent deputies to Paris at the commencement of the year, but as they had not brought with them the articles sent to them in the month of November, the king would not see them, and they were referred to Marshal Schomberg. They offered to reform their magistracy, but would not hear of an intendant of justice. With regard to their fortifications, they were unwilling to raze any but those that had been built since the year 1621, and that only on condition that the king's forts, Fort Louis and those commenced in the isles of Oleron and Rhé, should be demolished at the same time. It was observed that the discourse and manners of the deputies were nothing like so humble as they had been on previous occasions. Whether they were animated by their hopes of succour from England, or that they were confident the other Huguenots of the kingdom would rise, they seemed very little disturbed by the menaces that were held out to them. About this time the Huguenots of the Vivarez surprised Pousin, a small place on the Rhone, but it was speedily recaptured by the Constable Lesdiguières.

The cardinal was not a little puzzled at this conjuncture by two difficult things: he wished internal peace to be established, and, at the same time, that the interests and reputation of the state should be so strongly supported abroad, that no weakness should be perceptible. If he should relax with regard to foreign policy, to preserve peace, he could not be certain of it at home. It was not the Huguenots he most dreaded; he could appease them by adhering to the edict of Nantes: but he saw a powerful Catholic party forming against him, at the head of whom would most likely be the Prince de Condé. Men who envied the lofty position of the cardinal had a plausible pretext to *excite zealous Catholics* against him as an

encourager of heretics ; a crime of which much was already said in Spain and at the court of Rome. Peace with the Huguenots was necessary to prevent a rupture with England ; but if he neglected this opportunity of taking La Rochelle, and destroying the asylum of the enemies of the crown, he would draw upon himself the animadversions of the whole Catholic world.

Before the disposition of the English council was known, the Rochelle deputies had been very ill treated, and Marshal Schomberg told them that if the king did his duty by them, he would hang them all. They were, upon this, about to return home, but the government contrived to hold them in play a little longer ; the Duke de la Tremouille even wrote to his brother, the Count de Laval, who was in La Rochelle, to propose more advantageous articles, as if on his own account. At length, as there appeared no chance of compromising the matter honourably with the English, who were beginning to prepare for assisting the Huguenots, it was judged best to make peace with them. This peace was accordingly signed on the 5th of February, 1626. Upon the face of it it had an appearance of fairness ; the king did not descend greatly from his dignity, and almost as much was granted to the Huguenots as the religion of a minority could expect ; but the king and his minister took especial care not to admit the destruction of the royal forts which had been recently built near La Rochelle, or to allow anything that might strengthen the military position of the inhabitants ; everything that was accorded was to their religion, and as that was their ostensible plea, they could not complain.

When the articles were signed, the Cardinals Richelieu and Rochefoucauld went out from the council-chamber, in order not to appear too publicly to sanction any truce with the heretics, although the first had not only concocted the peace but spoken very strongly in favour of it.

To perfect the satisfaction of the Huguenots, the king

published an edict, much in their favour, in which it was declared that the articles of the edict of Nantes should remain in force, in all their integrity.

This peace furnished matter for the enemies of Richelieu: he was accused of want of religion, and of having little regard for the peace of the state. Numbers of libels were published against him throughout all Europe. The parliament condemned some of these, and the cardinal was not in want of able pens to take his part. No way would have been so effectual in silencing all these attacks as the revealment of Richelieu's real intentions: this peace was but a political postponement till a more favourable opportunity; the lion-paw of England was raised to keep him from his prey; he only "bided his time" till the lion should be either diverted from his charge or asleep.

CHAPTER V.

Peace with Spain—Internal affairs of France—War with England—Death of the duchess of Orleans—Illness of Louis XIII.—Siege of La Rochelle—The English at La Rochelle—Defeat of the English—The famous dyke of La Rochelle—The king quits the siege—Returns—Father Joseph—Gassion—Abortive attempt of the English—Buckingham assassinated—Surrender of La Rochelle.

AFTER diplomatic manœuvres and finesses enough to fill a volume, but not at all interesting to readers of the present day, peace was made with Spain as well as with the Rochellois, and the cardinal had time to turn his attention to home affairs. He had now assumed and placed himself in the position which he ever after held so firmly, and yet this was one of the occasions on which he affected to wish to retire from public affairs; but his conduct during *the two past years* of his ministry, and the

designs which he gave out he meant to carry into execution, prevented his assertion from obtaining credit with any one. Indeed, if we follow the career of the cardinal with an observant eye, we shall find frequent instances of his being one of those men who, having adopted hypocrisy as their principle of acting, fancy they at all times succeed in deluding others, and only deceive themselves. He alleged his want of health and strength; he declared his mind and body were not strong enough to allow him to keep at the helm. He told Cardinal Spada that he had a great desire to visit Rome, and to remain there for three years; but at the moment he knew that his presence at court was indispensable, not only on account of state affairs, but to defend himself; absence would have ruined him. We have said that his hypocrisy was sometimes transparent: what must this same Cardinal Spada have thought when, a few days after the above, he told him, that in the space of eighteen months he hoped so completely to change the face of affairs in France that the kingdom would not be known for the same; he added that the Huguenots would be extirpated, the *tailles* removed, and parliaments restored to their proper consequence. The biographer who mentions this adds, with a proper appreciation of the cardinal's character, he effected the first with respect to the Rochellois, but as for the other two, the good prelate never dreamt of doing anything of the kind.

We must now direct our attention to the internal affairs of France, over which Richelieu had such complete control. The king convened an assembly of the notables, which met at the end of 1626, and separated in the following February. This assembly, besides the king, the queen-mother, and Monsieur, consisted of the Cardinal de la Valette, the Marshals de la Force and Bassompierre, of the presidents of parliaments, and the presidents of chambers, with their procureurs-general, the presidents of

the three courts of aids, the civil lieutenant of Paris, six knights of the order of the Holy Ghost, six members of the council, and twelve prelates. On former occasions it had been customary to convoke the states of the kingdom, when such things were to be discussed as it was intended now to propose ; but the cardinal, who knew that in the states-general more regard was frequently paid to the public good than to the wishes of ministers, would never consent to their being assembled. The notables, who had no authority beyond that which the king thought proper to give them, took care, on the contrary, not to oppose anything that was desired of them. From that time the *good of the state* began to be called, not that which would contribute to the happiness of the three orders of the kingdom, but that which would furnish the king, or rather his ministers, with the means of executing whatever projects they thought proper to undertake. Neither the noblesse nor the third estate now formed a body, the clergy only assembled at his Majesty's good pleasure, or that of his ministers ; it was no longer possible to complain of the government without incurring the accusation of being seditious, and without being at once crushed by the very power that was blamed, because no individual had power to speak in the name of any one, or to support himself by the authority of any political assembly, for there no longer existed any. The kings became, by this means, absolute masters of the laws, and their ministers were in a condition to overthrow all sorts of privileges and ancient customs that opposed the least obstacle to their views.

We think it necessary to give the details of the opening sitting of this assembly, in order to throw a light upon the then existing state of France.

The members being assembled, and having taken their seats upon chairs and benches, the king told them he had called them together *to remedy* the disorders of the state,

and that his keeper of the seals would put them in possession of his will.

Marillac, keeper of the seals, began by saying, that the king had convoked them for the purpose of taking their advice upon great and important affairs of state, in imitation of his predecessors, who had sometimes summoned the three estates, and sometimes notable persons, in smaller numbers. He then launched out into praises of the king, and into thanks to God, who had enabled him to discover various plots formed against his authority, which he had established more firmly on their ruins. After this, he represented that the civil wars, since 1620, had consumed immense sums, and that the king had, in addition, been obliged to assist the foreign allies of the state; that the ordinary revenue of the king did not exceed sixteen millions of livres, and that for several years he had been obliged to expend from thirty-six to forty, much of which had been raised by one means or another, but that the king was still in debt more than fifty millions; that, on this account, he had determined to retrench all useless expenses, and had already suppressed the posts of constable and admiral, whose salaries had not amounted to less than four hundred thousand livres per annum; that it was his wish all useless fortifications should be razed, that the garrisons necessary to hold them might be withdrawn; that he wished to repurchase his domain that had been sold or pledged at too low a price, as well as the *tailles* and the farming of the impost upon salt; that, to augment the revenues of the state, he wished to encourage commerce, which his neighbours were drawing all to themselves. But, above all, the keeper dwelt upon two articles, which required new and strong resolutions: the one was the bad administration of the finances, and the other the frequent rebellions.

The Marshal de Schomberg spoke after Marillac, and said, among other things, that the king ought always to

have on foot thirty thousand well-paid troops; and that he had given him memorials to find means to supply this expense, which he would communicate to the assembly.

When he had finished, the Cardinal de Richelieu arose, and spoke upon the same subjects as the keeper of the seals had done, to which he added: "That it did not require many ordinances to put everything to rights, but only to have such as they did make well executed; that the repurchasing of the royal domains, of the aids, and of registry fees, would cost more than two millions, but that *innocent means* must be employed to obtain them; that he intended to labour incessantly to redeem the affairs of the crown; and that if it were permitted to him to execute so good and glorious a design, he should be afterwards content to die, and should think he had cause to render warm thanks to God."

The first president of Paris spoke after the cardinal, and was warm in his praise of Henry IV. and Louis XIII., his son. He exhorted the assembly not to be mute as others had been, and finished by imploring God to give the king children.

In conclusion, the keeper of the seals said that the king would send the propositions of the assembly, by the procureur-general, to the parliament of Paris; and thus ended the opening sitting of this assembly, in which every one was disposed to hold opinions in accordance with those of the king.

Although permission seemed to have been given to the notables to seek for means to remedy the disorders that had been pointed out to them, they did nothing without the good pleasure of the ministers, who only looked to them to authorize their conduct, and not to regulate or censure it, as the states would have done.

In this assembly, an exposition of the finances, said to have been written by the Marquis d'Effiat, was read, recapitulating the income and outgoings of the state, and

ending by discovering the true motive for the assembling the notables. The ministers wished to lay upon their shoulders all the hatred that the new impositions were likely to create.

The politic cardinal only made his personal appearance twice in this assembly ; at the opening, as we have already said, and about six weeks after. He took his place in an exalted chair close to Monsieur, who presided, and above the Cardinal de la Valette. He presented divers articles, which were read by the *greffier* ; after which the cardinal spoke, and explained them at length. In the first article he proposed to moderate the pains and penalties incurred by state criminals, and to be satisfied with depriving them of their posts after the second act of disobedience. This was another of the thinly-covered, and, as we think, weak subterfuges of this generally esteemed profound politician. It deceived nobody ; what, then, could be the use of employing it ? It only added contempt to hatred. The cardinal, whose constant maxim it was never to pardon state criminals, only proposed this excessive moderation in order that the assembly might reject it altogether. The subservient assembly perceiving what were the cardinal's real wishes, refused to listen to his proposition, and prayed the king to have the ancient laws against state criminals executed to the letter. Some other of his articles regarded preparations by sea and land against the English, who were again threatening to assist the Rochellois, never long in a state of quietude. The assembly granted all the minister demanded, without the least reference to the expense.

When money was wanted in an emergency, it had been the custom for many years to sell the posts and offices of the court, the army, and of the tribunals of justice, and to allow those who purchased them to sell them again ; no one being able to obtain them without money, no attention was consequently paid to either the rank or merit of

those who presented themselves; and the poor noblesse were entirely cut off from the means of bettering their position. The noblesse presented a memorial to the king, in which they described the condition to which they were reduced, and supplicated him to release them, pointing out several favours that he might grant to the nobility of his kingdom.

To reply to this request, and prevent alarm being taken with regard to the new projects of war, with which the whole kingdom resounded, the king issued a declaration, dated the 16th of February, in which, after having remarked that his wish to assist his people, and enable them to enjoy a solid peace, had been the cause for assembling the notables, he declared that his intention was, firstly, to bring all his subjects together into the unity of the Catholic Church, *by all the good means of mildness, love, patience, and good example.* Secondly, to re-establish the dignity of the Church, by the exact observance of the ecclesiastical constitutions, and the royal ordinances which concerned them. Thirdly, to maintain his subjects of the pretended reformed religion in all the liberty that had been granted them, leaving them in the tranquil enjoyment of their property, their offices, the benefit of the edicts and the favours they had obtained of him, until it should please God to enlighten their hearts, and bring them back again to the bosom of his Church. Fourthly, to bestow upon the noblesse several favours and privileges to enable them to enter into benefices, posts, and offices, whether of his majesty's household or the army, according to their capability for them. Fifthly, to have the children of poor gentlemen instructed in the exercises suitable to their condition, and to employ the members of this order, by sea and land, with appointments so well paid, as to make them worthy of envy; to re-establish commerce, and to do so by renewing and augmenting its privileges. Sixthly, to assist the people by removing a burden of

three millions of livres during the five ensuing years, reckoning, as part of this, the six hundred thousand livres from which they had been relieved in 1627 ; so that they would be entirely relieved of them in the year 1632.

But the evil was, that whilst giving with one hand, as much was taken away with the other ; and of that which was promised, only what suited the convenience of the minister was performed. A great deal was said about restoring maritime commerce, the superintendence of which the king had given to the Cardinal de Richelieu : but nothing was necessary but to leave commerce to the industry and enterprise of individuals, which are infinitely greater and more active than those of a minister, who knows nothing about trade, and who has such an immense number of other affairs on his hands ; to say nothing of the probability of his being misled by false advice, and his being deceived by interested persons. All that a minister could have done at that time, or, indeed, ought to do at any other, in favour of commerce, was to lessen the duty on articles of trade. This project, then, produced no great results, any more than did many others put forth by the great cardinal to amuse the people, whom he impoverished by useless wars, kept up, as he said, for the good of the state ; but, in reality, solely for the purpose of making himself necessary to the king, and retaining power. But, independently of this, had he acted honestly, and to the best of his ability, it might not have been much better for the people ; for, although endowed with talents that enabled him to grapple with great political questions, he was miserably deficient in the principal requisite for a minister,—he was no financier. In cases of need, he had recourse to the readiest, though perhaps the most impolitic and unjust means that first presented themselves. In states governed by kings who depend upon their subjects for their revenues, where standing armies must be maintained, and every wheel of government

must be kept in motion by money, the principal quality of a minister must be to be a financier. Colbert was educated in counting-houses, Richelieu in the army and the church ; therefore, the first knew how to get the money before he spent it, whereas Richelieu could spend it faster than Colbert could, and availed himself of any bungling means that presented themselves to obtain it. In feudal times, when kings had vast extents of crown-lands, and were served by their lieges or tenants in fief, this qualification was not of so much importance ; but since feudalism died away, and royalty and standing armies have been maintained by taxes, a minister must be a financier.

At length, the assembly of the notables, having drawn up several sheets upon the propositions made during their sittings, were dismissed on the 24th of February ; and as much attention was paid to their advice as the council thought proper to afford it. To increase still further the authority of the minister, the king published letters patent, in which he said that the Cardinal de Richelieu, on account of the signal and important services which he had rendered, and still rendered to the state, should have *entrée*, voice, and deliberative opinion in parliament, as well in assemblies of the chambers on council days, as during the pleadings ; and should have a seat on the peers' side, with the same rank and the same degree that he held in the council of state. The cardinal, to take possession of this new honour, went a few days after to the parliament, accompanied by several prelates and a number of the noblesse. He at the same time took the oath for the charge of superintendent of navigation, which an edict of the king's had recently conferred upon him.

It had been agreed by the peace of La Rochelle, that the forts built by the Rochellois should be demolished, and they began the work of destruction ; but when the government, instead of raising theirs, as they were equally bound to do, built new and larger ones, they at once per-

ceived that their enemies had made peace solely for the sake of gaining time ; and they not only discontinued the dismantling of the forts, but despatched Soubise to entreat the king of England to assist them against the designs of the court. They likewise sent a gentleman named Blancard, who was so successful in convincing several of the British ministers of the consequence of preventing La Rochelle from falling into the hands of the king of France, that one of them said in open council, that it would be less prejudicial to England to lose the kingdom of Ireland than to permit the reduction of La Rochelle, and thus connive at the destruction of the Protestant religion in France.

This feeling was common in England ; but it is probable that the king, who really seldom interested himself greatly about religious matters, would not have interfered so far as going to war in this quarrel if he had not been urged to it by Buckingham. Three motives acted upon this vain and ambitious favourite. In the first place, he expected that ladies of his family should hold the highest rank near the queen's person ; but the Catholics, knowing their own views upon the king, conceived that the Protestants might entertain similar ones upon the queen, and availed themselves of the marriage articles, which allowed none but Catholics to be the immediate attendants upon her majesty. This exclusion irritated him greatly.

The second cause of resentment arose from his having been repeatedly refused by both the king and the cardinal a reception at the court of France, to which he attached much importance. He had written several sharp letters to Richelieu on this subject, and had received similar ones in return. His third motive was his generally believed romantic attachment to Anne of Austria, which obstacles seemed to increase, and which furnished an additional reason for the prohibition of the king her husband.

These impediments to the pride and guilty passion of a

subject now appear strange reasons for two powerful nations going to war; but such is the history of despotism and favouritism. The duke urged the king to assist the Rochellois; without a declaration of war, all French vessels were seized in the English ports, and two ships of war were sent against Dieppe and Havre de Grace.

These infractions of the peace on the part of the English caused the French king to forbid, by a declaration, all commerce with England, and to command the seizure of English property in France. Bassompierre, recently returned from his embassy, declared that he did not think the English in a condition to make a serious descent; but the cardinal was determined not to be found unprepared, and had every means taken on assailable parts of the coast to give them a warm reception.

In the mean time, the king received daily accounts of the preparations of the enemy, and judging that their armaments would be directed against the coast of Poitou or Saintonge, he resolved to go thither in person, accompanied by the duke of Orleans. But, before his departure, he went to the parliament to rectify some edicts, and was taken ill during the sitting. In his eagerness to join the army, he neglected his disease, and left Paris; but the fever increasing, he was forced to stop at Villeroi.

It happened that just before this event, the duchess of Orleans had been confined with a girl, much to the regret of the courtiers, who had entertained hopes of a boy. But the king, who perceived no cause for joy in his brother's having children at all, did not partake of the disappointment, as his jealous disposition led him to think that his brother's children were already looked upon as heirs to the crown. The duchess died a few days after her *accouchement*, to the extreme mortification and regret of the queen-mother; but the king, envious of all good fortune that could befall Gaston, was extremely rejoiced at it. He even begged the queen-mother not to think about

marrying his brother again, and gave orders to Puylaurens and Le Coigneux, in whom the prince placed most confidence, to divert him from such a purpose, by leading him into all kinds of pleasures, for which purpose he supplied them with as much money as they could want. But the queen-mother, who feared that the king would have no children, immediately formed the idea of marrying Monsieur to one of the daughters of the grand duke of Florence, over whom she hoped to exercise most authority in the event of her becoming queen. But this design met with strong opposition, and was even the cause of the banishment of Mary de Medici, which took place some time after.

Before the king's illness, he had named the duke of Orleans lieutenant-general of his armies, and under him Marshals Bassompierre and Schomberg. Whilst Louis was confined at Villeroi, news was received that the duke of Buckingham had effected a descent upon the isle of Rhé, in spite of Thoiras, who, after having three times repulsed the English, was forced to retire to Fort St. Martin, which was in no condition to sustain a siege. Many French were killed on this occasion, the cannon of the English ships being very destructive. Thoiras himself was wounded, and lost two brothers. At the same time, Buckingham sent six ships of war to cruise off the mouth of the Garonne, and as many to that of the Loire, to prevent vessels issuing from those rivers, and to keep the country in alarm. The king was not informed of this event, for fear of increasing his malady. Buckingham had with him a hundred and twenty vessels, and had landed eight thousand men, who, after beating Thoiras, laid siege to Fort St. Martin. The duke of Orleans, who was with the king, became impatient to take his command; but the cardinal told him he could not advise the king, in his present state, to permit him to do so. The duke, however, became so much annoyed by the delay, that he could not possibly be restrained. But the king had been so long

inspired with jealousy against his brother, that it was not a difficult matter for the cardinal, who had taken great pains to feed that passion, to have him recalled. The mandate reached the duke at Saumur, but Mary de Medici, extremely angry at the manner in which Gaston was treated, obtained permission from the king for his pursuing his journey, and he repaired to Poitou, where the army was assembled. We cannot refrain from pausing here to consider this picture of a court. There is not an action that is not governed and guided by vile, and at the same time, transparent motives. In all this, is there one thought bestowed upon the people over whom they ruled, and for whose benefit the actors ought to have thought themselves placed in such exalted positions? With king, queen, cardinal, duke, and courtiers, each and all are actuated by the narrow principle of ill-judging self-interest.

Richelieu spared no pains to throw succours and provisions into the isle of Rhé; but all his cares would have proved useless if Thoiras had proved less brave, or Buckingham had had any knowledge of the art of war. The cardinal had been for some time governor of Oleron and Broüage, which governments were of little value in themselves, but which he had been anxious to obtain as places of safety for himself, in the event of more court plots, in which he might not prove the strongest. He doubled the garrisons of these places, and caused the troops to be paid all that was due to them with his own money, in order to encourage them to act with vigour, however they might be employed. He likewise got together a number of barks, both with oars and sails, to convey troops and provisions to Rhé as soon as it would be possible.

A few days after landing, the duke of Buckingham published a manifesto, dated the 11th of July, not only to excuse his proceedings with regard to France, but to make the English believe that their king was actuated by a pure zeal for religion. He said that the great anxiety

which the king of Great Britain entertained for the reformed religion had induced him to seek the sister of the king of France in marriage, that he might be in a better situation to support the French Protestants : that having rendered himself mediator and guarantee of the last treaty of peace, he could not see the contraventions of the ministers of the king of France without complaining ; and that upon the refusal which had been given to the Reformers and himself to do them justice, and on account of the preparations against La Rochelle, he had felt it his duty promptly to take arms in their defence. That by the promise which had frequently been given to him to satisfy the Protestants at a proper season, and when they should render themselves worthy of it by their submission, he had always understood that the demolition of Fort Louis was to be effected ; whereas, so far from that fort being razed, the fortifications of it had been augmented, and other forts constructed in the isle of Rhé.

The court of France had never recognised the king of England as mediator or guarantee of the peace, but it was very probable that his ambassadors had promised the Huguenots to see that it was observed. It was still further certain, that so far from their being allowed the enjoyment of their privileges, causes for quarrelling with them were being constantly sought for, and every one could see that their ruin was only put off for an early and an advantageous opportunity. Although this was denied in public, it was admitted in private, and the event made it clear that the Rochellois did not complain without reason. Thus the manifesto was not so false as the partisans of the court wished to make it appear.

The Duke de Rohan, who was to have formed a *corps d'armée* in Poitou, simultaneously with the descent of the English, had not the success he expected. He was not popular with a portion of the Huguenot noblesse, which *was one of the causes* of the ruin of his party. They would

not have been strong enough for the court, even if they had been united. Those who were opposed to the duke, treated him as a man totally unworthy of confidence ; either feigning that they did not perceive that the court sought the destruction of the reformed religion ; or, that being convinced of that fact, they did not dare to oppose it. Whatever might be the opinion of these defaulters, a great part of their contemporaries saw that which is so plain to us : that if the Protestants had placed all their privileges in the hands of the king, and trusted to the equity of him and his government, they would soon have been entirely deprived of those privileges, and forced to go to mass. The duke not being able to get together many adherents in Poitou, on account of the presence of the royal army, retired to Languedoc, where he succeeded in raising several cities. But the cardinal sent the Prince de Condé to oppose any forces he might muster, and Galland, a counsellor of state and a Huguenot, to persuade the people of his own religion not to take up arms.

In the meanwhile, Buckingham, instead of employing force and stratagem to take the fortress into which Thoiras had retreated, before it could receive succour of any kind, unwisely undertook to starve the garrison, and that without entirely surrounding it. He must naturally have supposed that the French would spare no endeavours to throw in troops and provisions, if they were allowed time : he must likewise have known that it was dangerous for the large English ships to pass the autumn on coasts full of banks ; and yet he allowed two months to pass away without making any considerable effort to take the citadel, and without being able to prevent barks from entering, from time to time, bearing provisions to the besieged.

These supplies, however, were not sufficient ; and Thoiras beginning to fear he should be obliged to surrender, *informed the court that if he were not supplied,*

or the English were not driven from the isle of Rhé, he must soon capitulate. He, at the same time, pointed out that troops might be introduced into the island by the Fort de la Prée, and the English be attacked. This proposition was discussed in the council of the king, and several of the members were of opinion that the isle of Rhé should be altogether abandoned, in order that all the forces might be employed in the blockade of La Rochelle, until siege could be laid to it in form. They asserted that the king had not troops enough to achieve both these objects at once. But the cardinal agreed with Thoiras, and represented that "the king would soon have troops enough to guard the posts he had taken up round La Rochelle, and for the enterprise proposed; that by withdrawing the troops from the isle of Oleron, and joining to them two thousand men from the army, commanded by Monsieur, they might throw into the isle of Rhé five or six thousand foot and five hundred horse, which, joined with the garrison of St. Martin, would be quite sufficient to drive the English to their ships; that it was extremely important for the king to preserve that island, because if the English made themselves completely masters of it, the isle of Oleron must soon fall into their hands; that by possessing these two islands, the enemy would keep the neighbouring coasts in a state of perpetual alarm; that they would draw considerable stores of money, corn, wine, and salt from Oleron; that they would not only prevent the transport of the salt of Broüage, of Marenne, and the neighbouring coasts, but would greatly interrupt the trade of Bourdeaux. But, above all, if the English were allowed the triumph of retaining Rhé, the most sinister effects would ensue throughout the kingdom."

These reasons were sufficiently strong in themselves, even if they had not been supported by the authority of the cardinal, to induce the council to listen to the proposition of Thoiras. It was therefore resolved to embark

the number of troops the minister had named, in as many vessels as could be procured fit for the purpose, and attempt the succour of the island. Some assert that the cardinal pledged his jewels to raise the money necessary for this expedition; but there is reason to believe the report emanated from himself, in order to enhance the public opinion of his zeal for religion. The historians say the king was not straitened for money; and if the cardinal advanced any, it was more from ostentation than necessity. He never lost an opportunity for being talked of.

About this time the Spaniards, by their ambassador, offered to supply Louis with forty vessels, having for some time before nourished a pique against the English; but they were so long in coming, that no dependence could be placed upon them; and, in fact, they never came at all. The French government likewise renewed an alliance with the United Provinces, for fear they should furnish the English with vessels. They undertook to assist France against any power except the king of England; at the same time promising not to assist the latter against France. They further engaged not to make peace with Spain without giving France three months' notice that they were negotiating. The king, on his side, entered into an obligation to lend the United Provinces a million of livres annually. This agreement was to last three years, as a former one had done. In case of its infraction by the States, they were to repay the king, immediately, the money they owed him, and send back the French troops that were in their armies. The Spanish ambassador complained loudly of this treaty, made with peoples who were in arms against Spain, at the very moment that country was preparing to assist France against her rebellious subjects. Louis replied that he had only formed this league in order to prevent the Dutch from landing ships to the English; and as soon as they were compelled to

stay at home, the king would soon let his Catholic majesty see how good his intentions were towards him, even with respect to the Dutch. Upon hearing of this reply, the ambassador of the United Provinces complained in his turn, and said, if the French already contemplated breaking the league, his masters would be obliged to take measures accordingly. The ambassador was paid with the same coin as that of Spain; but time alone could determine with which of the two Louis meant to keep his word.

Whilst preparing for the attack upon the English, no opportunity was lost of throwing in men and provisions to the besieged citadel, in spite of the guns of the English. The king also recovered from his fever, and joined the army before La Rochelle, commanded by Monsieur and the Duke d'Angoulême. The king brought with him the two other lieutenant-generals, and assigned a separate body to the command of Marshal Bassompierre, because the latter would not accept the Duke d'Angoulême as a colleague; and because it was the custom that the army in which the king was present could only be commanded by marshals of France, when any were with it. The cardinal favoured the duke, but the firmness of Bassompierre prevailed, simply because his services were of consequence.

Notwithstanding all the cardinal's efforts, the expedition against Rhé could not be got ready before the beginning of November. At length 6,000 foot and 300 horse, the best troops in the army, landed in the night of the 5th to the 6th of November, led by Marshal de Schomberg and Louis de Marillac. The large English ships not being able to approach the shore, contented themselves with firing upon the troops as they passed, from a distance; but they killed very few, and, as soon as the French came opposite to Fort St. Martin, they intrenched themselves. The next day the French army formed, in order to attack the English in their trenches, if they did

not come out of them. But the duke of Buckingham marched boldly forward to meet them ; and after a battle, in which the French say he lost two thousand men, he retreated in good order until he had passed the bourg of La Conarde, where his troops, finding themselves at the entrance of the causeway which led to their ships, fell into disorder, every one wishing to go first. Many more of them would have been killed, if night had not put an end to the pursuit of the French. As soon as Thoiras saw the trenches almost abandoned, he made a sortie with eight hundred men, who put to flight all the duke of Buckingham had left behind. Such as could gain the fleet embarked with the others, and the whole immediately set sail for England. Thus the duke of Buckingham, with much more ambition than capacity, was disgracefully driven from the isle of Rhé, after having besieged a fort for three months, which could not have held out a week against a well-commanded army. Instead of assisting the Rochellois, his expedition did them such serious injury, by consuming so great a portion of their provisions, without afterwards returning either them or their value, that they were obliged to surrender the following year. By this failure, says Leclerc, he drew upon himself the censure of the English nation, which, on other accounts, was not over well pleased with him.

After this victory, the blockade of La Rochelle was continued, and the royalists made earnest preparations for reducing that city the following year. For this purpose they not only blockaded it more closely, but, as they had no fleet to oppose to the English, if they should return in force, every effort was employed to conciliate them. The king sent home all the English prisoners without ransom, after having treated them with great kindness. It was reported that this was done for the sake of improving the position of the queen of England ; and, in fact, Louis wrote to his *sister by De Meaux*, who was charged with

conducting the released prisoners. De Meaux was likewise commanded to address himself to the Danish ambassador at the court of London, Denmark having already offered to mediate between the two crowns. The English prisoners, on their arrival in London, were loud in praise of the kindness of the French king, and gave all the assistance in their power to the mission of De Meaux.

The deputies from La Rochelle, who were in London, warmly soliciting fresh succour, soon obtained intelligence of these political manœuvres, and in a memorial to the king, employed every argument the desperate state of the city could suggest, to induce him to perform his promises to his co-religionists. The king of England, although he received the deputies courteously, was, in heart, more inclined to favour Catholics in England than to assist Calvinists in France, and did not hasten the departure of the fleet. Buckingham, however, seriously piqued by his late want of success, used the utmost exertions to forward the expedition, and pressed the king to afford him an opportunity of retrieving his wounded honour. The parliament was much dissatisfied with the conduct of the court.

Whilst these affairs were going on in England, the king and the cardinal continued to lay close siege to La Rochelle. The cardinal took, in common with the other generals, a certain extent of the lines of circumvallation to guard, and caused a fort to be built, which was named *Fort Richelieu*.

The duke of Orleans left the army, and returned to Paris on the 15th of November. Immediately after the death of the duchess, Mary de Medici, ever anxious to have the reins of power in her own hands, entered earnestly into a plan for remarrying Gaston, and fixed upon a daughter of the grand-duke of Florence, as most likely to suit her ambitious views. But, unfortunately for her, *Marguerite*, the grand-duke's eldest daughter, who was

handsome and of a proper age, was engaged to the duke of Parma; whilst Anne, the second daughter, was not only too young, but so exceedingly ugly, that the duke of Orleans would not hear of the match. Mary then tried to persuade the duke of Parma to marry Anne; but, to the great annoyance of the queen-mother, Parma would not give up his beautiful affianced bride, and Gaston as positively refused to ally himself with childhood and ugliness. Mary de Medici not only feared that the king would have no children, but placed faith in astrological predictions, which declared he would never reach thirty years of age; and he was now twenty-eight. Although of a cold phlegmatic temperament, very thin, and very dry, the king was so addicted to the sports of the field, that no weather or fatigue impeded his pursuit of them; and his mother was in constant apprehension that his weak constitution would sink beneath his exertions and exposure to cold and rain. The duke of Orleans, on the contrary, loved sensual pleasures as much as his brother hated them; and the fear for him was, that he would destroy his health by his indulgences. All these reasons urged Mary to make every exertion to bring her plan to bear, but she met with not a probability of success; for, in addition to Gaston's aversion for the ugly princess, neither the king, the queen, nor the cardinal, although apparently seconding her views, assisted them in earnest. The king was too jealous of his brother to wish him to marry again so soon. Anne of Austria was already too sensible of the weight of the authority of the queen-mother to desire to have it increased; and the cardinal, although the creature of this princess, would have been exceedingly sorry to see Monsieur married and the father of several children, because he knew that prince entertained no love for him; and with a family likely to succeed to the crown, he would have lessened his authority in the state. In addition to this, *Richelieu*, who artfully and by degrees

was stealing power from the hands of his benefactress, began to be weary of preserving an appearance of respect for her will.

There was, in the court of France, a princess, seventeen years of age, the daughter of the Duke de Nevers, whom her parents had taken great pains to throw in the way of the duke of Orleans. Their plan so far succeeded as to make him form an attachment for her; and, though he sometimes said he did not wish to marry at all, at others he said, as the duke of Parma would not give up Marguerite, he would marry the daughter of the Duke de Nevers. But Mary de Medici was exceedingly averse to this match; she not only thought Mademoiselle de Nevers to be a delicate girl, not likely to have a family, but she hated that branch of the house of Gonzaga, which had upon all occasions been opposed to her. This affair caused a delightful court imbroglio, which we should not have mentioned had it not been connected, as we shall see, with the life of the cardinal.

The Duke de Vendôme, who had been placed at Vincennes, as we have said, continued to protest his innocence as regarded designs against the king; but he was obliged to confess having conspired against the authority of the minister, to ask pardon of the king for that offence, and to renounce his government of Brittany. Having done all this, the king sent him letters of grace, as far as concerned his life; but refused to restore him to liberty, although he permitted his relations and friends to visit him at Vincennes. The grand prieur, who would not condescend to follow the example of his brother, was not allowed similar privileges; no one, on any pretence, was permitted to relieve the dreariness of his imprisonment.

The Count de Soissons had left the kingdom; but still, however far removed, could not escape the wrath of the cardinal. The Countess de Soissons complained bitterly to *Father Berule*, that it had been asserted that the

minister was in possession of letters from her son, in which he advised Monsieur to retire to La Rochelle; and she demanded to see these letters. Father Berule spoke to the cardinal of the affair, and brought back a reply to the countess: "That the king's ministers were not obliged to justify what they had said, because they had said it for the good of the state, and the king was acquainted with the truth." He, nevertheless, denied having spoken of these letters, although the countess maintained that she had been assured by a well-informed person that he had done so. She also complained that the cardinal had reported that a gentleman, in the suite of the count, had remained at St. Germain a considerable time, by the orders of his master, for the purpose of assassinating the cardinal. The count and the gentleman exclaimed loudly against such a calumny; but the cardinal denied that the report came from him, although he avowed that some one had hinted a suspicion of such a circumstance. All he had wanted was so to alarm the king for the safety of his indispensable minister, that he should order him to have a guard.

The Count de Soissons, finding himself banished from France, resolved to visit the courts of Italy; but the cardinal took care to affect the nature of his reception there to the utmost of his power. He wrote to the Count de Bethune, commanding him to hold but little intercourse with him, in the hope that the other ambassadors would regulate their conduct by his. But the Count de Bethune, who did not participate in the cardinal's enmity for the banished prince, believed it to be inconsistent with his master's honour to behave ill to one of his blood at a foreign court, and received him in his own hotel with due hospitality, only refraining from the complaisance which the Count de Soissons expected of placing himself below him at table. The cardinal was excessively irritated at Bethune's neglect of his orders, for he was not one of

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those who admit of a half-dependency; a man once his must be entirely his, or he became his bitter enemy, only awaiting the fitting occasion to show his resentment.

The Abbé Scaglia, ambassador from Savoy, experienced, about the same period, the effects of the cardinal's anger, excited by his having too warmly opposed the treaty of Monzon. The artful prelate, wishing to have the abbé recalled, and never at a loss for an expedient, accused him of complicity in Chalais' cabal; of having treated with the grand prieur; and of having offered, on the part of the duke of Savoy, to supply Monsieur with a considerable body of troops. The abbé positively denied the whole of this, and spoke in his own justification several times before the cardinal and the other ministers; but, as his justification was not the object desired by the cardinal, he was told to request his immediate recall from his master; and was promised, in the event of his obtaining it, that he should bear with him sufficient evidence of his innocence. In compliance with this, he was in a short time transferred to the embassy from Savoy to Flanders; after which, Richelieu seemed to think he could not load him with too many civilities.

The cardinal still carried on the siege of La Rochelle with unremitting energy; but, notwithstanding the closeness of the blockade, the incessant attacks upon the fortifications, and the employment of every artifice, either of strategy or policy, he found all his efforts useless as long as the sea was open to the besieged. To close the entrance to the port had been at once perceived to be the readiest and most natural means to overcome this evil; and an Italian engineer, named Fargoni, had endeavoured to effect this in various manners, but tempests, or the tides even, soon destroyed the fruits of his labours. At length, the cardinal proposed to make a dyke of stone, in which there should be an opening left for the passage of the tide. This dyke is always looked upon as the cardinal's great

achievement; but who will say that the conception was his own? In an army commanded by marshals of France, and officered by men experienced in the art of war, the idea of this celebrated dyke was one that was very likely to suggest itself; it might even have originated with a soldier or labourer of low rank; but if the cardinal thought proper to adopt it as his own, where was the man then in France who would have dared to dispute the paternity with him? Be this as it may, it cannot be denied that Richelieu set this great work on foot, and carried it through in spite of the obstacles incessantly thrown in his way by the enemy and nature. The work was commenced at a place where the gulf which forms the port of La Rochelle is seven hundred and forty toises in breadth,* and where the operations would be out of the reach of the cannon of the city. To form the dyke, immense posts were driven into the bottom of the sea, at distances of twelve feet, and others across them, between which were placed stones with nothing to bind them together but the slime and mud deposited by the sea. Several vessels loaded with stones were likewise sunk at different points, to strengthen it. At the base it was twelve toises wide, growing narrower by degrees to the top, where it was only four. It was at the summit above the flow of the highest tides, so that the soldiers who guarded it might always remain dry-footed. Batteries were erected to defend it, both within and without, and additional artillery was planted on either shore. This we give as its perfect state; but it was a work of time, great exertion, and patience, to bring it to this point.

The besieged at first flattered themselves that this design could not succeed, as the sea would be sure to carry away, as it had done before, everything by which man would presume to oppose its course. Nor was this

* 1,480 yards.

hope without good foundation, for if they had had a larger stock of provisions, or their English allies had done their duty, their city would not have been reduced to capitulation by this work, however stupendous. Within a few weeks of the capitulation, the winds and waves vindicated their power, dispersed part of the dyke, and left a wide entrance open to the port and the city. An historian says: "The cardinal was very proud of his dyke, but the Rochellois might have laughed at him and it if they had but had provisions for a few more weeks."

Whilst this work was being carried on, the Spanish fleet, very badly equipped and much injured by weather, arrived, under the command of Don Frederic de Toledo. The Marquis de Léganez came likewise, and with him the celebrated Spinola. The king eagerly led this great soldier to examine the various works of the siege, and was chagrined by his disapproval of many of them. Among other advice, he told Louis there were but two means of taking La Rochelle—*he must either close the entrance to the port, or open his purse*. The cardinal paid him much respect, styling him his father, on account of his age. On his return to Spain, so far from approving the conduct of the Count-duke Olivarez,* who had sent the fleet to assist the king of France, Spinola advised the Spanish monarch to despatch immediate succours to the Rochellois. He could talk of nothing else, and insisted upon the present course as one most opposed to the true policy of Spain. He said the idea of helping to make the king of France absolute in his states was the more ridiculous from France having just concluded a league with the United Provinces to assist them against the Spaniards. Richelieu was fortunate in having whilst in power such a rival as Olivarez, a man of very mean

* What reader can meet with this name without thinking of Gil Blas?

talents: the errors of the Spanish minister gave lustre to the conduct of the minister of Louis XIII.

The Spanish and French fleets when united amounted to more than a hundred vessels, and prevented the English from sending a supply of provisions, wood, and coals, which was now ready. The king of England, who began to be on bad terms with his parliament, had had much difficulty in raising money for this expedition, and now that it was prepared, he did not dare to risk it. The larger Spanish and French ships remained in the road of the isle of Rhé, and the small ones kept watch over the works of the dyke.

This undertaking was not far advanced, when the king, who had been seven months at the camp, becoming weary of the monotonous life of a blockade, pretended that urgent affairs demanded his presence in Paris, and set out for that city, not believing that the siege was near its termination. The day before his departure, he sent a commission to the cardinal, in which he appointed him to the rank of lieutenant-general of his armies of Poitou, Saintonge, Angoumois, and Annis, with a full power over all the troops, cavalry and infantry, whether French or foreign. He also expressly enjoined the Duke d'Angoulême, the Marshals Bassompierre and Schomberg, his lieutenant-generals, and all the other officers of the army, to obey the cardinal as they would the king in person.

This commission, which assigned the command of a large army importantly employed to a bishop, who could know nothing of war beyond the little he had acquired in his very youthful studies, and who was continually complaining of being unequal to the affairs of the state, on account of his ill-health, not a little surprised those who did not know him well, or who were ignorant of the absolute necessity there was for the presence of the minister at the siege. The cardinal, whose mind was as active and penetrating as it was proud and haughty, not

only listened to the advice of the generals, but eagerly caught at and appropriated everything he thought worthy of attention, let it come from what quarter it might. Besides, his passion for command was so insatiable, that he cared not what he undertook, or how inconsistent it might be with his holy vocation, so that he did but command. No one was likely to press on the operations with such zeal as he would. His presence was a security for the fidelity of the various leaders, who, in the event of shortness of pay or any disaffection among the troops, might have brought about the failure of the enterprise. Thus, however strange it appears to us that a bishop and cardinal should command an army, it was the most prudent arrangement that Louis could make. Indeed, as we shall see, it was then not an uncommon thing for an ecclesiastic to be in a military command. On the day of the king's departure, after having received the farewell compliments of his generals and officers, he turned his horse on one side towards a gentleman of quality who had come to receive his orders, and after leaning upon his shoulder for some time in silence, he said : " My heart is so oppressed at leaving Monsieur le Cardinal, and by the fear that some ill accident may happen to him, that I can scarcely speak. Tell him from me that if he has any desire to make me think that he loves me, he will take care of himself, and will not incessantly go into dangerous situations, as he is in the habit of doing daily : let him think what a state my affairs would be in if I were to lose him. I am well aware how many persons are engaged in endeavouring to prevent his being charged with the heavy burthen he supports. But so highly do I value his services, that I shall never forget them."* In fact, the king had not sufficient strength of mind to govern alone, and had already committed so many injustices in favour of the

* Aubery.

cardinal, that the number of the discontented was very great, and he felt he could not do without him. And yet this king, whose imbecility reduced him to miserable subserviency to a man he feared and never liked, is by authors of his own and the next reign, held up as a pattern for monarchs. Howell, a writer, who published his work in 1646, and which now lies before me, dedicates the history of this monarch to Prince Charles of Wales, and begins in these words: "I present your Highnes with the life of your Royal Oncle of France, A successfull and triumphant King both at home and abroad throughout the whole course of his raign, and that in so constant a degree, as if Fortune herself had bin his Companion, and Victory his Handmayd: They attended Him o'er the Alps; They ushered Him o'er the Pyreneys; They were his harbingers o'er the Rhine, and they brought his horses to drink of the Danube; They were His pilots at Sea, and they filled his Sayles upon the Ocean, where he was incomparably more powerfull than all his Progenitors."*

When the king was gone, the cardinal pressed on the works with all the rapidity that the season and the sorties of the besieged would permit; and succeeded in completing his lines of circumvallation so satisfactorily as to place all the forts in a state of defence, and of intercommunication with one another. But the dyke advanced more slowly on account of the greatness of the labour and the bad weather, which afterwards put a stop to the works.

The cardinal perceived plainly that the siege was likely to be protracted for a length of time; he had great reason to fear that the army would be diminished by the negligence and deceit of the captains, and that the enormous expense would, in the end, compel him to abandon

* The author of this exquisite piece of adulation was a great traveller, an intimate friend of Ben Jonson, and the first who bore the office of Royal Historiographer. But he dates his dedication from the *Fleet Prison*.

the enterprise. He likewise dreaded that the soldiers, ill-paid and over-fatigued, would desert, as had been the case at many other sieges. In order to remove these apprehensions, he gave orders that the troops should be reviewed every week, and appointed a commissary to each regiment, who should himself pay the soldiers, and who should take care there were no *passe-volans*.* Thus, the cardinal knew every week the actual number of his troops, and that only such as were in the camp were paid; whereas before there had always been a number of *passe-volans*, and many more men were paid than were in effective service. He also gave orders that the soldiers should be provided with clothes to protect them against the cold of the winter and spring; and pursued such good regulations, that there was always an abundance of provisions in the camp, without the peasants of the surrounding country being subjected to the ill-treatment of the soldiery.

Shortly after the king's departure, the cardinal caused the Rochellois to be summoned to surrender, and to throw themselves upon the clemency of his majesty; but they refused even to listen to the herald. A few days after this attempt, the cardinal entertained the slight hope of taking the city by surprise. His plan was to petard the false gate of the *Salines*, the *New Gate*, and that of *St. Nicholas*; to escalate the bastions of the *Gabut* and of the *Evangile*; to endeavour to break the chain and surprise the fort of *Thoiras*, whilst false alarm should be given in other places. He selected for this enterprise the night of the 11th of March, and approached to within six hundred paces of the city, with about eight thousand men, horse and foot, and the Marshals *Bassompierre* and *Schomberg*. The bearers of the petards were sent towards various sides, and five hundred men advanced under *Marillac* to support the first attack; but the night was

* Men who take place in a muster, without being enrolled, and cheat the paymaster.

so dark they could not find or distinguish each other, so that when day broke, it became necessary to retreat without having effected anything.

Two days after this failure, the cardinal made another attack upon the fort of Tadon, in which Marillac commanded the van, in order to afford him an opportunity of repairing the fault of the last enterprise. A false alarm was given to the corps de garde of La Tenaille and the gate of Les deux Moulins; and a man was sent to those who guarded the gate of St. Nicholas, to tell them, as if he had come from Fort Tadon by the order of the commander of it, that they were not to fire, whatever noise they might hear, because the men of the fort had a counter design to execute against the besiegers, who were coming towards them along the sea-shore; and if they fired at the first noise, it might prove to be upon their own people from the fort. Marillac passing shortly afterwards, the men of the St. Nicholas gate did not fire; but they gave the alarm in the city, in order that the garrison might be prepared in case of need. As soon as Marillac was near the fort, the sentinel, perceiving some persons were approaching, discharged his musket, and by the light of it saw the troops. He instantly gave the alarm; and Pontlevin, a gentleman of Saintonge who commanded in the fort, with five French companies and one English company, called his men to arms; so that there remained no probability of forcing them. Hereupon Marillac, instead of giving the word, "*To the right!*" in order to withdraw his troops, only cried "*Turn!*" which created great confusion, and caused between thirty and forty of his men to be either killed or wounded.

Many things, however, began to grow short in La Rochelle, and it became necessary to open the public magazines of corn and salted meat to individuals, and to distribute these provisions, some of which were not in a very good condition, with the greatest economy. Jean

Guyton, mayor of the city, a man of experience and spirit, took care that they should be spared as much as possible, till the anxiously expected supplies from England should arrive. He also issued his orders for the defence of the city with much prudence and firmness ; but he could not prevent numbers of soldiers, who would not submit to the self-denials prescribed, from deserting daily to the besiegers, carrying with them information of the bare state of the place. At first the besiegers received these deserters ; but they soon discontinued the practice, as they feared they were only relieving the city of so many useless mouths. The cardinal would not even allow the mother of the Duke de Rohan and his sister-in-law to leave La Rochelle ; not only with the view that they might help to consume the scanty provisions of the city, but for fear they should raise a cabal in favour of the Duke de Rohan, who was carrying on the war for the Protestant party in Languedoc, and was giving the Prince de Condé and the Duke de Montmerenci a great deal of trouble. Some authors say that these ladies refused to leave La Rochelle, where their presence and exhortations kept up the fainting spirits of the besieged ; and, though reduced for three months to live upon horseflesh, and even worse food, they still acted with a firmness worthy of the cause they were engaged in.

The Rochellois had looked forward with hopeful impatience for the tide of the full moon, of the March equinox, which is generally very high ; but it had not much effect, only overturning about three toises of one end of the dyke, which were soon restored. They were, however, cheered by the arrival of a few barks, which brought them a little corn, and the intelligence that the succours from England were about to set out. The cardinal, also, was aware of this, and the Spanish ships having departed, had great reason to fear that the forty *French* vessels that were left would not prove sufficient

to defend the port against the entrance of the English. But the dyke, for the formation and strengthening of which sixty-two vessels had been sunk, was now in a state of defence ; and it was hoped that the naval army, drawn up at the entrance of the gulf, and supported by a quantity of artillery planted along the shore on both sides, would be able to resist a great number of vessels.

In this conjuncture, the cardinal thought it expedient that the king should return to the camp, to encourage the soldiers by his presence when the succours from England should appear. Louis arrived on the 24th of April, and the necessary orders for defending the dyke against the English were immediately issued. A short time after the king's return, Father Joseph, who had likewise become a soldier, was informed by a Rochellois, who understood no more of the matter than the Capuchin did, that it was possible to get into the city by a conduit through which its impurities were discharged. The busy ecclesiastic, delighted at having a finger in the pie, repaired directly to the cardinal, with a plan for introducing troops by means of this sewer ; and as everything was well received by his eminence that came from Joseph, the king was informed of the discovery, and orders were given for the attempt. Writers, I suppose out of dislike for the cardinal's confidant, throw an air of ridicule over this affair, and say that some indescribable machine was invented to facilitate the enterprise ; but that it was deemed necessary, in the first place, to discover the passage. This was done during a very dark night ; when, upon sounding the filth with a long pole, it was found to be so deep, that the design was deemed perfectly impracticable by persons acquainted with the place ; and, notwithstanding the rage of the Capuchin, who would have persisted at all risks, it was obliged to be abandoned.

Here, although in the midst of this celebrated siege, we feel called upon to make our readers better acquainted

with Father Joseph. This monk, who is generally termed the *Âme-damnée*, or familiar, of the great cardinal, by his attachment to his master and his unscrupulous zeal in his service, has rendered their names inseparable: Richelieu and Joseph are like Faust and Mephistopheles.

Leclerc du Tremblay, better known as Father Joseph, owed the commencement of his fortunes to Antoinette d'Orleans de Longueville, who took the veil after the death of her husband, the Marquis de Bell-Isle. He was the director of this lady, and seconded her warmly in reforming the Benedictine nuns, commonly called the Daughters of Calvary. How he became connected with Charles, Duke de Nevers, and afterwards of Mantua, is unknown; but these two chimerical and restless spirits seemed drawn together by affinity of characters and views. Their great scheme was to institute a new grand order of chivalry, and form a universal Christian crusade against the infidels. To relate the particulars of this absurd undertaking would lead us too far from our way; suffice it to say that it brought little but ridicule to all that were concerned in it. The evil with Joseph was that it left a strange hankering in his mind for military adventures, and that they generally turned out to his shame. Various stories are told of the droll half-military, half-monkish costume which he sometimes appeared in, and of his vain attempts at horsemanship: one of the latter, which cannot be repeated, is said to have amused Richelieu greatly. But if the cardinal sometimes diverted himself with the eccentricities of the Capuchin, he was well acquainted with the energetic nature of his character, and trusted and employed him more in his efforts to destroy his personal enemies than any other agent. He sent him to the diet of Ratisbonne, as the negotiator best fitted to form a close alliance between France, Sweden, and the Protestant princes of Germany, and to sow mistrust and jealousy between the emperor and the Catholic princes. The

worthy father acquitted himself so well as to cause great embarrassment to the house of Austria. Thus we see a cardinal and a Roman Catholic monk secretly uniting their energies to thwart the interests of the church of which they were distinguished members.

On his return, Louis was dissatisfied with what he had done, and Richelieu, to keep up appearances, seemed so likewise; but the two churchmen knew that he had achieved the principal part of his mission, and the cardinal placed more confidence in him than ever. He had been ordered to give his principal endeavours to prevent the diet electing the son of the emperor king of the Romans, for which purpose Ferdinand had convoked the diet. Father Joseph acted so adroitly, that he persuaded the electors to defer the election, by proving to them that it could only serve to augment the power of the emperor, and weaken their own. He, in the same manner, convinced the duke of Bavaria that the authority which Walstein had acquired in the empire, where he ruled everything at his pleasure, was disgraceful to the Electoral College; and, by his influence, the diet demanded that the generalship should be taken from the only man then capable of sustaining the Catholic league in Germany. The emperor consented, but soon had deep cause to regret doing so. He was frequently heard to say, "that a poor Capuchin had disarmed him with his chaplet; and that however narrow was his cowl, he had contrived to introduce six electoral caps into it." Some writers attribute this joke to the Capuchin's master, the cardinal.

Joseph could never miss an opportunity of meddling in military affairs, and, on one occasion, had the imprudence to oppose the opinions of an officer of rank and talent. The father being unable to convince the Protestant Colonel Gassion that he was wrong, said, with his cynical smile, "It is very evident we are not of the same creed." "And still less of the same trade," replied Gassion,

bluntly. This dispute furnished the court with matter for laughter, and one wit even ventured to apply to the king for guards to prevent a duel between a Capuchin and a Huguenot ; but Joseph never forgot it, and, consequently, like his master, never forgave it. As the anecdote connected with this circumstance strongly shows the character of Joseph, and the ascendancy he had over Richelieu, we will select it from the number that are told, in ridicule of this otherwise dreaded military monk. The cardinal had formed a high opinion of Gassion, and, as he always made it his endeavour to attach men of ability to his interests, he wished to make him captain of his guard. But, upon mentioning his purpose to Joseph, the latter replied : “ Such mere swordsmen are more fit to kill people than to keep proper watch over a master. They are lions that cannot be tamed, and it is always dangerous to place oneself between their paws. Neither should they be detained too long at court ; they are far better in camp or at their quarters.” The cardinal was so deferential to the opinion of the father, that he either would not or durst not contradict him. “ Good man,” said he, in his usual manner, “ we will both have our way : Gassion shall not be at the head of my guards, but he shall be mine, nevertheless.”

The connection of Richelieu with this brave and honourable man has furnished more than one interesting incident for novelists and playwrights. Richelieu, although backed by the promises of the king, could not corrupt him. On one occasion, every means was tried. “ The leagued princes,” said Richelieu, “ have already endeavoured to seduce others into their party, and they will not fail to attempt to gain you.” “ I will kill the first that shall attempt it,” replied Gassion. “ That is not what we wish,” said the cardinal ; “ you must appear to enter into their views, promise them your troops, for fear they should seek others, enter into their league on certain con-

ditions, hear all they will say to you, in order to inform me ; and when they shall call upon you to fight, you can boldly declare yourself a faithful servant of the king."

The cardinal, whose eyes were fixed upon Gassion during this proposal, saw that he was embarrassed and uneasy, and added, in the hope of encouraging him, that it was by the king's orders he spoke, and he had no power to change the plan agreed upon : " after all," he said, " the welfare of the state often renders such artifices necessary, in order to defeat the projects of factions ; and all actions become legitimate and even glorious when the safety of the kingdom is at stake, or a civil war can be prevented." Gassion continuing to show, by his manner, that this morality was not at all to his taste, Richelieu made one last effort to persuade him ; but all in vain. The captain, after having reflected for a considerable time, broke silence, and said : " Monseigneur, depend upon me, in life or to death, when there is occasion to serve you ; but let it be without intrigue and without treachery. I will give a good account of your enemies, but the war I make against them must be an open one." " Monsieur," replied the cardinal, with a dissatisfied air, " the king will be served after his own fashion ; but he has the means of rewarding liberally all who do serve him." After this they separated, greatly dissatisfied with each other. Nothing could induce Gassion to play the part of a traitor ; but yet he felt grieved at being compelled to give up the hopes he had entertained from the patronage of the all-powerful minister. Richelieu sent for him again, and was struck with the trouble and anxiety depicted in his countenance ; Gassion was incapable of personal fear, but he was a soldier of fortune, and was moved to his heart to find the honour he worshipped made an obstacle to his prospects. " I have given you much pain, my poor colonel," said Richelieu, " but I am obliged to you for feeling it ; you are more my friend than you believe

yourself to be, and I am not quite sure that you are not more dissatisfied with what you said to me yesterday than I am." Gassion confessed that he deeply regretted that he could not, in any case, prove his devotion to his eminence. "Monseigneur," said he, "I can offer you no more than my life, I would lay it down willingly in your service; but I cannot, even for your sake, sacrifice my honour." "Enough, enough, monsieur," replied the cardinal, "your fortunes may be the worse for it, but you will not lose my esteem." How refreshing is such a little bit in a history like this! And yet how consistent the policy of the cardinal to the end! His affectation of esteem for honour, which he neither preached nor practised, was nothing but a lure thrown out to prevent a good and brave man from becoming his enemy.

But, notwithstanding his ridiculous military pretensions, Father Joseph, by his acuteness, promptness, untiring spirit, and sincere affection, made himself necessary to the cardinal; who, though aiming at much and capable of achieving much, still, like other men, was glad of the undoubted support of a kindred mind. From their power, their intimate connection, and their garments, the people called one *His Scarlet Eminence*, and the other *His Grey Eminence*. On many a trying occasion Joseph came to the rescue; on some even when the cardinal's genius paled before seemingly overwhelming circumstances, the energy of the Capuchin brought all to a triumphant issue. In fact, Joseph was, as Richelieu confessed, as he mourned over the death of his faithful coadjutor, the cardinal's "right arm."

A few days after Father Joseph's failure, the English fleet appeared; it consisted of about fifty ships of war, and of forty others laden with provisions. The French fleet, composed of smaller vessels, under the orders of the Commander de Valence, was drawn up in the canal, between the two points, and the stocado of the sunken

vessels was protected by a regiment on each side. Thirty-six galliots, fully manned, were likewise placed between the dyke and the city, to prevent the sorties of the Rochellois. As soon as the French saw the size of the English vessels, their apprehensions were at an end, as they knew there was not sufficient depth of water at the mouth of the canal to allow them to enter.

At seven o'clock in the evening, the English attempted to anchor near the *Chef de Baye*, where there was a battery under the command of Marshal Bassompierre. To prevent their stopping there, the marshal fired fifty rounds of cannon upon them, which made them draw off, and take their anchoring-ground towards the *Pertuis d'Antioche*.

The weather, which was violent for several days, would not permit the English to attempt anything; but at length, a week after their arrival, their ships of war advanced within reach of the cannon of the French fleet, and poured in a fire from all their artillery, after which the whole fleet retired, without attempting or doing anything further. Only one of their sloops, which had mixed with the French vessels in the night, succeeded in getting into La Rochelle. The Rochellois were highly provoked by the conduct of the earl of Denbigh, who commanded the English fleet; his promises of future assistance could not make up for his miserable inefficiency in the present case. The English ought to have known that large ships were of no use in such an enterprise, and they ought, at least, to have had some settled plan upon which to act; whereas they neither seemed to be aware of the state of the dyke, nor of the purpose they came there for. Upon which Leclerc very sensibly remarks: "It was a misfortune attached to the reign of Charles I. that scarcely any reasonable enterprise was undertaken, and nothing that was projected was fortunately carried out: thus this prince was never able to persuade his people that

he entertained designs advantageous to the honour and liberty of the British nation."

Delivered from his fears of the English, the cardinal wrote a letter to the Rochellois, in which he exhorted them to surrender. But, buoyed up by the hopes of fresh aid from England, or that the storms of autumn would destroy the dyke, they would not condescend to make any reply. In the mean time, matters were not quite prosperous in the royal camp: the heats of summer had brought dysenteries among the troops, followed by malignant fevers; the cardinal was obliged to shift his quarters, and the ardour of the soldiers diminished daily.

On the very day the cardinal wrote to the Rochellois, the duke of Buckingham was stabbed at Plymouth by an assassin named Felton, as he was about to embark on another expedition in favour of La Rochelle. The murderer was a Scotch enthusiast, who, so far from evincing repentance, gloried in having destroyed an enemy to the state, and rendered a great service to his country. The death of this nobleman made no change in the intentions of the king of England; and he assured Soubise and the deputies from La Rochelle that this accident should not delay the assistance he meant to send them.

As soon as the news of Buckingham's death reached the camp, the cardinal judged it a favourable moment for urging the Rochellois to surrender, and he sent them proposals by means of Arnaud, who entered the city under pretence of procuring the exchange of his brother-in-law, the Marquis de Feuquierès, who had been a prisoner for some months. A considerable part of the government received the proposals favourably, and deputies were sent to the cardinal; these, having heard his offers repeated from his own mouth, returned and gave their report to the rest. But, whether they feared the king and the

cardinal would not keep their word, or that they conceived the sacrifices they were called upon to make were too great, the citizens refused to accept the terms, and determined to wait for succours from England.

And yet, whilst forming this resolution, they were reduced to the last necessity, and a great number of the people only lived upon shell-fish and roots, which became daily more difficult to be found. Some of the magistrates advised capitulation; but as this would be placing themselves at the mercy of the cardinal, who, when once in La Rochelle, would only execute as much of the capitulation as suited him, the majority of the people, excited by the energetic mayor, refused to consent to it. The opposite party, in order to work upon the pity of the people, procured a resolution to be passed, by which all useless mouths were to be expelled the city. They judged that such a measure would create so strong a feeling as to dispose them to surrender. One night, a multitude of old men, women, and children were got together, and driven out at the city gates, without the least attention being paid to their entreaties and lamentations. These unfortunate wretches went as soon as it was light to surrender themselves at the forts and lines of the besiegers, but they were driven away by musketry, so that they were forced to remain in the open fields, between the lines and the city, where they subsisted upon grass, herbs, and the leaves of trees. So far from pitying them, the king and the cardinal ordered them to be fired upon till their fellow citizens readmitted them into the city: they even ordered all the grass in the neighbourhood to be cut and carried away, in order to deprive them of that poor resource against starvation.

The king gave the citizens to understand that if they persisted to extremity, he would give them no quarter. They offered to surrender if they were allowed to preserve

their privileges ; but they were told their privileges were lost, and they must throw themselves entirely on the king's pleasure.

The cardinal, however, afterwards consented to grant them their lives, their property, and a few small privileges attached to the magistracy, upon condition that after having asked pardon of the king, they should admit him into the city, and pay four instalments that were due to the army. The Rochellois offered to ask pardon of the king with ropes about their necks, provided he would leave them their religious and magisterial privileges ; without saying anything more about the demolition of Fort Louis, and of those of the isles of Rhé and Oleron. They also required the king to pardon Rohan, Soubise, and the cities of Languedoc, and that he should make peace with England. The cardinal replied that the king was determined to punish Rohan and Soubise ; that as to the cities of Languedoc, they would be treated with the clemency they deserved, without the interference of the Rochellois ; with regard to England, it was not for them to prescribe to the king what he ought to do ; and it was quite enough for them to escape the punishment they merited for having drawn France into a war with that country. This is one of the many instances in which we are called upon to admire the statesmanlike conduct and language of the cardinal. We pity the Rochellois, we feel an interest in their cause, we have no sympathy with Louis or his minister ; but, in the circumstances, nothing could be more to the purpose or more dignified than this reply.

The deputies having returned to the city, the cardinal was much surprised, instead of receiving a reply, to hear the artillery of the besieged resume its full play. They also endeavoured to set fire to the galliots between the canal and the dyke. But failing in this design, they sent *a drum* to ask permission for their deputies once again to

be admitted to the king. The cardinal replied, that after the deceit they had just practised, they should only be received at discretion; but after having returned them this answer, he nevertheless resolved to renew the treaty, in case they should again ask permission to send their deputies.

At length the English fleet, of sixty ships, commanded by the earl of Lindsay, appeared on the 28th of September off the isle of Rhé, and was increased by more than thirty vessels on the following days. The whole French army, consisting of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse, were kept several days under arms to repulse the English in case they made any attempt to gain possession of the dyke. It was then completed, and no opening was left but one of a hundred and fifty geometrical paces in the middle, for the passage of the tide, and this even was so choked by sunken ships filled with stones, that it was difficult for anything to enter. It is nevertheless believed, that if the English had ventured the sacrifice of a few vessels, which, with the assistance of the tide, could have been directed straight against the dyke, they might have destroyed a great part of it, and obtained a passage for light vessels with supplies.

The disposition of the French army was the same as it was at the preceding attack. There were, still further, two batteries, one at Chef de Baye, of forty pieces of cannon, and the other at Coreille, of twenty-five. The first five days the English contented themselves with sailing along the coasts to view the state of the French army, and with firing a few random and useless shots. They tried in vain to burn the French fleet by sending fire-ships down upon it with the tide. But, on the morning of the 3rd of October, the English fleet directed its course straight towards the canal, and the *Vanguard*, on board of which was Soubise, with a great number of Rochellois, after having made several tacks to catch the

wind, advanced within cannon-shot of the French fleet. Each vessel delivered both its broadsides, and then retired. The *corps de bataille* and the rear-guard did the same, and the whole fleet returned three times to the charge in similar order whilst the tide served. The French replied in the same manner with all their artillery, as well from the batteries as from the fleet. The Rochellois, on their part, fired upon the galliots and the land troops, but it was from such a distance that they produced no effect.

At ten o'clock the sea retired, and with it the English retired also. They did nothing the remainder of the day but throw a few harmless rockets and launch a few fire-boats against the French fleet. The land artillery did them considerable damage, and they lost about two hundred men and several sloops; whereas the French lost not one vessel, and only twenty-seven soldiers. The English followed up the same plan the next day, and with as little success. They did not dare to attempt to board, for fear the land army should, in that case, come to the assistance of the fleet; nor did they venture to break through the dyke or approach the opening. That would indeed have been a bold stroke; but it was ridiculous to undertake to succour a place pressed so closely as to be reduced to necessity, without risking something. But Clarendon asserts that small hopes were entertained in England of the success of this expedition. The English appeared to be disposed to return to the attack with the evening tide, but they only advanced half way.

The Rochellois who were on board the English fleet requested to parley with the French generals, and two were allowed to land in the quarter of Bassompierre. They were sent to the cardinal, of whom they demanded permission to be allowed to enter La Rochelle, and return and inform the English of the state of the city. When he learnt this was their only object in coming, he quickly

sent them back again, without gathering any fruit from their foolish errand.

After this, the wind was so contrary for several days, that the English were obliged to remain at anchor. During this leisure, they judged it was a good opportunity to endeavour to come to an accommodation, and with that view Lord Montague sent to pay his compliments to the cardinal. The cardinal thinking from this that he wanted to find occasion for a conference, sent four English prisoners to the fleet without ransom, charging them to make his compliments to Montague, and to tell him that there was every reason to hope that peace might be brought about if he would consent to confer with him in private.

The prisoners, on their arrival at the fleet, communicated their message to Lord Montague, who assembled a council, to which Soubise and the Rochelle deputies were likewise summoned. He told them what the prisoners had reported to him, and added that he believed it would be advantageous for the common cause to seize this occasion the cardinal offered to reconnoitre the dyke, under the pretence of going to speak to him; and that, by taking an engineer with him, he could not fail to bring back a satisfactory account of it. The Rochelle deputies, who suspected that Montague only sought an opportunity to treat without them, opposed this project strongly. They represented that the moment the fleet should discover that any negotiation was commenced, there would be an end of all inclination for fighting; that as to reconnoitring the dyke by this means, the French generals were rather too cunning to allow them to see the weak parts; and that Montague and his engineer, after being shown the strongest parts of it, would come back to make a report conformable with the designs of the enemy, and calculated to discourage everybody. The English officers, however, who were not much devoted to the cause, although they professed to be so, brought the council to conclude that a

boat should be sent to the French generals to demand an exchange of prisoners, and a safe conduct for Montague, which accordingly was executed. On the morrow the prisoners were exchanged, and the day after that Montague went to have an interview with the cardinal. On his return, he said he had been very well received, and that the cardinal had made him proposals touching the general repose of Christendom.

Montague and his engineer returned a second time ; and after having dined with the cardinal, and held a conference with him, they, the next morning, were taken in a galliot to the dyke, and were shown everything that had been constructed to embarrass the passage of the channel. They who sent these inspectors might safely have assured themselves that, if there was to be a dupe in this exposition, it would not be the cardinal-minister ; but whether so or not, the officers of the fleet were not much surprised at being told by Montague and his engineer, on their return, that they had seen quite enough to convince them that approach to the city was impracticable. Montague added, that the cardinal had made such proposals, that he thought it his duty to submit them to his royal master ; that he should therefore instantly go to England, and would return with orders in a fortnight. Charles, who only assisted La Rochelle in compliance with the wishes of his people, was much more pleased than otherwise with Montague's conduct and the cardinal's advances.

Never omitting an opportunity for practising his tortuous policy, Richelieu immediately set about turning these visits to advantage. The Rochellois on board the fleet naturally became alarmed by them, and by the departure of Montague ; to them, then, and the famished inhabitants of the city, he adroitly caused it to be intimated, " that it would be a shame and a disgrace to them to allow their reconciliation with their native king to be

effected by a foreign prince, who would pay far greater attention to his own interests than to theirs; that it would make their position much better if they were to implore the commiseration of his majesty, because he would be far more inclined to listen to his own subjects than to the remonstrances of the king of England."

The Rochellois, who contemplated on the one side the city being reduced to ruins and the inhabitants starving, and on the other the total absence of earnestness in the English in their cause, became aware that it was quite time to make the best terms they could. Those on board the fleet sent a drum to request a safe-conduct for some deputies they wished to send to the cardinal. It was sent to them, although the very day before the English fleet had been amused by firing useless shots at the French ships, making abundance of noise, but doing no execution. At the moment the fleet deputies arrived at one point, six deputies from the city appeared at another; the cardinal being informed of this, ordered both parties to be admitted, and placed in different chambers. He commanded the deputies from the fleet to be introduced first. He had with him the Marshals Bassompierre and Schomberg, and Bouthellier. The deputies told him that it was not without some confusion that they presented themselves before him, when they considered the place they came from; but that they still had the boldness to do so, because, although they were with foreigners, their consciences told them they were in their hearts Frenchmen; that this was apparent from their having seized the first opportunity of coming to an understanding, and sparing the effusion of blood by seeking an interview with his eminence, to offer his majesty their services to endeavour to persuade their fellow citizens to return to their obedience; that they likewise supplicated the cardinal to procure them his majesty's pardon, and to be assured that

they who made this prayer would act with perfect sincerity, and in a manner which, perhaps, might not be useless in the service of the king.

The cardinal replied to them with mildness, "that he would not at that moment revert to their errors, or those of their fellow citizens; they were great, but the goodness of the king was greater: that he was quite willing to exert himself in procuring their pardon of his majesty, provided they would return sincerely to their duty." He afterwards asked them what cause they had to be confident they could bring the Rochellois to a sense of their error. The deputies replied that the citizens knew nothing of their design; but if his majesty would permit them to go and speak to them, they had such strong considerations to lay before them, that they had no doubt they would be of their opinion.

The cardinal wished to be informed what these reasons were; and the deputies replied, "that being possessed of no better art than that of having none, they would reveal them with perfect sincerity to a person they were not in a position to deceive, and from whom they had everything to hope and to fear. They confessed that they had done everything in their power to obtain prompt and effective succours for La Rochelle; but that they had been made painfully sensible of the misery of soliciting assistance from foreigners, who only interest themselves for those who implore their protection, in proportion with the conviction they are made to feel that it is for their own advantage. They had had great hopes held out to them; but the effects that followed them had rather resembled such as would be made by people who wished La Rochelle to be taken instead of being relieved. The English had entered into an alliance with the Rochellois a little before the preceding harvest, as if to prevent their providing themselves with corn. They had consumed a great part of their provisions whilst they were in the isle of Rhé,

which was another means of reducing them more quickly to extremity. Having promised to send them corn on their return to England, and being pressed to do so by the deputies, they had not supplied them with any, though they might have done it with the greatest ease. Having sent apparent succours in the month of May, they were only brought tantalizingly within sight of the city, and then carried away again without an attempt to land them, although the Rochellois on board the fleet implored them to grant them some vessels, with which they would endeavour to force an entrance into the port at their own risk. The last succours had arrived so late, that the English, who were not at all ignorant of the state of the city, seemed to wish it might be taken before their coming; or, at least, that it might be reduced to such extremity, that it would be obliged to rely entirely upon them for an accommodation with the king of France, which would be made at the expense of the Rochellois, and for the advantage of the mediators. In fact, there was no doubt Montague was gone to England to persuade the king to agree to the proposals that had been made to him. Reflecting upon all this, the deputies had thought that when accommodation was once mentioned, it would be more agreeable to the king, and more advantageous to their fellow-citizens, to receive pardon from his pure clemency than by the intervention of a foreign prince, who had proved so bad a guarantee of the treaty of 1626. They hoped to make these reasons clear to their fellow-citizens, if the cardinal would give them permission to go to them."

The minister praised their good intentions, and told them that they certainly would obtain much more from the king by addressing themselves directly to him, than if a foreign prince meddled with the affair. He then asked them what pledge they could give that they would serve his majesty in the manner they promised. They replied, they could offer two: the first was the visible advantage of

those for whom they treated; and the second was that one of them should remain in the camp, to answer at the peril of his life for the sincerity of his colleague. The cardinal said he hoped the king would place trust in them, and would leave them both at liberty to execute their design. To give them even more means of executing their purpose with success, he added: "That he did not conceal from them that the disturbances in Italy gave his majesty so much uneasiness, that the days consumed before La Rochelle appeared to him so many years, and that he would purchase every one of them at a great sacrifice. That the Rochellois had given him to understand that they had still provisions for three months; if that was the case, he would give them *carte blanche*, but if it was not so, it would not be just that obstinacy should obtain that which might be granted to a free and voluntary submission. That in order to ascertain this, his majesty would send commissioners into the city, among whom should be the deputies themselves, to search into the state and quantity of the provisions, and to bring him a faithful account of them; and that if they were exhausted, he should require the Rochellois to surrender at discretion."

The deputies implored the cardinal not to make them the bearers of such sad news, and to reflect that it was impossible to give an exact account of the provisions in the city, because the individuals who had them concealed them with great care. When efforts had been made in the preceding May to ascertain the quantity, only enough for one month had been found, and yet six months had passed since that inquiry; besides, account must be taken of all the fish and shell-fish which the sea brought them, of the herbs, the leather, the parchment, and everything from which juices for food could be obtained. Even though all this would not suffice for the subsistence of all the besieged for three months, it might be so economised as to be enough, and more than enough for those who were

able to defend themselves, and the rest would be left to die of hunger. He might be convinced that the Rochellois would not be so firm if their provisions were so short as had been represented to him, and that they would not defer capitulation till the last mouthful. They supplicated him then to allow them to be the bearers of a prospect of a more extended pardon, in order that they might make their fellow-citizens eager to obtain it, and to remember that they had to treat with people who had made it evident that when they had no longer the means of living they knew how to die. The speaker, on uttering these words, could not refrain from tears, and his hearers were evidently affected by them.*

After this, the deputies from Rochelle were admitted. They implored the cardinal to obtain favourable conditions for them from the king, and promised to get them accepted. They likewise entreated him to allow them to see their fellow-citizens on board the English fleet, after which they offered to place the city in the king's hands. The cardinal immediately replied, that they might see the deputies from the fleet at once, upon the condition that they would not speak to them. As they willingly promised, he went into the gallery, and told the deputies from the fleet that they might see the deputies from the city if they pleased, but only upon condition that they would not say a word to them. They agreed, and the cardinal conducted them into the room where they were. They were on both sides astonished, and saluted each other at a distance. They had great reason to fear that either the one party or the other had said that which would not accord, and would be injurious to the common interests; but they were allowed no opportunity for coming to an explanation.

* We give this account from Bassompierre, who was present at both the interviews. Aubery describes them somewhat differently; but we prefer the blunt marshal to the partial historian.

The city deputies again offered to return to their obedience, and supplicated the cardinal to procure them his majesty's pardon. He promised them to do so, and said that the king was gone on an excursion for a week, and that he would speak to him about it immediately after his return.

Upon this, one of the deputies exclaimed: "*What, Monseigneur, a week! Why, there are not provisions enough in La Rochelle for three days!*" Then the cardinal made them a long speech, in which he forcibly represented to them the evil consequences of their obstinacy; after which, he added, that he would dispose the king to grant them a pardon, and immediately set about drawing up articles for them to take back to La Rochelle. He offered to have them pardoned for the past, to grant them their lives, free exercise of their religion, and the enjoyment of their property. As to their privileges and the form of their government, the king would communicate his will on those subjects. The fortifications of the city were to be razed. The city deputies said that these articles would certainly be received, and took leave of the cardinal, who, at the same time, dismissed those from the fleet. Before separating, he permitted them to speak to each other, and the fleet deputies implored the others to have them comprehended in the treaty.

The cardinal, nevertheless, granted separate pardons to the citizens, and to all who had left La Rochelle since the commencement of the war. Those of the fleet fearing to be excluded by the inhabitants of the city, who, in their extremity, might be compelled to do all that was required of them, and having no confidence in the English, threw themselves entirely upon the generosity of the minister, and begged him to intercede not only for them, but also for all whom this war had compelled to leave the kingdom. The cardinal promised them this, and ordered a declaration to be made to them, by which the king proclaimed forget-

fulness of the past, permitted them to return to his ports, even with the prizes they might have made ; allowed them, equally with his other subjects, the free exercise of their religion ; restored them to the possession of their property, except the fruits of it that had been consumed ; and granted the space of three months for all inhabitants of Rhé and La Rochelle to return to their homes, and partake of the same advantages.

The minister Vincent, who was one of the French deputies from the fleet, was the bearer of the king's declaration to them who had sent him ; and having assembled them all on board one of the Rochelle vessels, which was in the fleet, he read it to them. Opinions were divided after this reading, and in spite of all Vincent could say, there were many who put no faith in it. Besides, the English declared they were not willing to allow all the French vessels to go, because, they said, they wanted them for the purpose of carrying out some enterprises on the coasts of Poitou, Saintonge, and Broüage. They were angry with Vincent and the others who had treated with the cardinal ; not because they were sorry to see La Rochelle fall into his hands, but because they wished to have gained credit with him for obtaining it. Montague was returned, with full discretion to act, but the cardinal, who would not allow a foreign power to interfere in the reconciliation of the subjects of the king with their sovereign, was beforehand with him, and had promptly granted tolerably equitable conditions to the French on board the English fleet. By removing the necessity for seeking protection from foreigners, he gave them an inducement to return to France, and prevented the English from employing them in keeping up an intelligence in the kingdom and promoting fresh disturbances. As regarded peace with England, after the bad conduct of Buckingham, and with the knowledge that Charles I. was not on very good terms with his subjects, he made it to

be understood that the king of England should ask it of his most Christian majesty ; and La Rochelle being reduced, he spoke of the English with much contempt.

On the 16th of October, the French from the fleet came to thank the cardinal for the pardon he had obtained for them from his majesty ; and on the same day, the city deputies came to say they accepted the articles. The next day was employed in putting them into better form, and in regulating the manner in which the king's troops should enter the city, for fear they should cause much disorder. On the 28th, the articles were signed by the magistrates of La Rochelle, in the name of the city, and by Marillac and Du Hallier, camp-masters, on the part of the king, who, as well as the cardinal and the other generals, refused to sign them. It was asserted that it was not consistent with the dignity of the crown to capitulate with its subjects ; but there is great reason to think that this mode of signing the treaty was meant, in time and season, to diminish the rights which the Rochellois pretended to have in consequence of the capitulation.

The articles were, upon the face of them, as favourable as a rebellious, conquered city could expect ; but most of them, as will be seen, were only made for the occasion, and to be observed as long as it was convenient.

The articles being signed, the Rochelle deputies went the next day to Laleu, where the king was, to solicit his pardon ; and on the 30th of the month, the Swiss and French guards entered the city in the morning, led by the Duke d'Angoulême, Marshal Schomberg, and several other distinguished officers. The quarters having been appointed, the cardinal appeared about two o'clock. At his entrance, Guyton, the mayor, presented himself, accompanied by six archers, who, as usual, marched before him ; but the cardinal ordered him to dismiss the archers, and to abstain from the functions of his office of mayor, that dignity being tacitly suppressed by the articles

of the reduction of the city, as were likewise all other rights and privileges. It is said that the cardinal having named to him the king of France and the king of England, Guyton replied: "*That it was better to surrender to a king who had proved able to take La Rochelle, than to another who had not been able to succour it.*" This reply was consistent with the courage of this brave man, who had made himself conspicuous on many occasions, both by sea and land. But he had, we are assured, great reason to be dissatisfied with the cardinal, who deprived him of his office, although it had been promised he should retain it, saying: "That the king was sole master and mayor of La Rochelle." It is likewise asserted that Guyton afterwards declared, that "*if he had known the royal word was to be so ill kept, the king should not have found a single man alive in La Rochelle; he would have held out as long as there was one left to keep the gates shut.*"

There can be no doubt that, if the city had had means of subsistence for a short time, the siege might have been protracted for another year. The winter was approaching, the fine weather ceased the very day after the capitulation, and the cardinal's dyke was not proof against the tempests of the season. But we cannot agree with the writers who say these obstacles would have prevented the ultimate capture of the city, and have produced a change in the destinies of Calvinism in France. Such an energetic mind as Richelieu's, in full command of the resources of the kingdom, would have come again and again to the attack, when such a great political object as the suppression of the Huguenots was the reward he looked to.

But the Rochellois were reduced to such extremity, that more than 15,000 inhabitants had died of hunger or of diseases, arising from scantiness of nourishment, or the unwholesomeness of what they did obtain. Those that were left were so pale and attenuated, that they were more like skeletons than living people. The cardinal's first care

was to send in provisions, bury the dead, and cleanse and purify the streets and houses. This done, he read mass in the church of St. Marguerite, which had been consecrated afresh by the archbishop of Bordeaux, and administered the communion to the keeper of the seals and Marshal Schomberg. After this ceremony, he left the city for the purpose of accompanying the king on his entrance. He rode alone on horseback, immediately before the king, preceded by the Duke d'Angoulême and the Marshals Bassompierre and Schomberg.

The taking of La Rochelle is considered one of the great achievements of the life of Richelieu, and is viewed, of course, by his biographers, in the light in which they contemplate his character altogether. For ourselves, we think there is more to be said for his policy in this instance than for any other in his remarkable career. Leclerc, one of the best writers on the subject, takes a decided part against the cardinal, and advances reasons in support of his opinions that are almost unanswerable. After enumerating all the horrors and lamentable consequences of the siege, the breaking of treaties, the ill-observance of the edict of Nantes, and dwelling upon what might have been done by kindness and encouragement, he concludes by observations that really astonish us when we remember that they were written in the reign of Louis XIV., before even the voice of Voltaire had been raised in favour of the free discussion of such subjects. He says, "It is in vain to assert that there was reason to fear the Huguenots of La Rochelle would have been induced to rise with every state disturbance that ambitious men might have instigated, since it is certain that, let the great do what they may, as long as the people are tolerably well off, and are convinced that those who govern them do not seek to despoil them of their privileges and the fruits of their industry, they do not allow themselves to be seduced; and always prefer the assured

enjoyment of what they have, to all the uncertain hopes that can be held out to them. There is no example of the subjects of a monarchy, in the quiet enjoyment of liberty of conscience and of their property, and having no good reason to suspect that there was any idea of depriving them of them, taking up arms against their prince. But as soon as they, whose revenues and authority are founded upon certain opinions of peoples, and which have no relation with the welfare of the state, take a part in the administration of affairs, or engage princes to adopt their sentiments, we never fail to see everything sacrificed to the interests and passions of those whose duty it is to furnish examples opposite to this fatal conduct, which has overthrown so many states, and caused so much blood to flow. Besides, they who consider peoples as so many slaves bound to suffer everything from sovereigns, reckon as nothing all the infractions which the latter make in the best established principles, and the most equitable laws. The greatest violences of ministers are, according to them, not at all opposed to public prosperity; but if the people presume to show any resentment, it is a crime which nothing can expiate, and there is no danger, no loss, in their opinion, to which the state may not be exposed, not only to prevent these peoples, but to prevent their falling into the like again."

But when, we ask, was France in this Utopian state of the people, being in the enjoyment of their consciences and their property? We know Henry IV.'s prophecy or every man's hen in the pot on a Sunday; but it was never realized: he himself, though in comparative peace, was kept in constant anxiety by some ambitious, discontented noble or other. Besides, his reign was an anomalous one, not likely to recur with any other monarch: we should hope that he was a Protestant in his heart, although publicly professing Catholicism for the peace of his country. It was impossible for two governments to

subsist in a kingdom as they did during the early part of the reign of Louis XIII., and for that kingdom to enjoy peace or prosperity. The Huguenots not only had privileges and freedom of worship, they had walled and fortified cities, which set the edicts of kings and ministers, however wholesome, at defiance. This constituted the difference between the positions of Richelieu and Colbert. In Colbert's days, these dangerous centres of insurrection, and refuges of the disaffected, were destroyed, and, by encouraging the industry of Huguenots, he promoted the best interests of France. When these latter were forgotten, when the great minister was dead, and Louis XIV. revoked the edict of Nantes, was perpetrated the great act of impolicy; very much greater than that by which Richelieu had sought to bring the country all under one government.

But whilst differing from Leclerc in our opinion of the cardinal's object, we quite agree with him in detestation of the unscrupulous means by which he effected it. Whilst employed in the siege, he never neglected, for a moment, his own power, or the means of securing its continuance. He had succeeded, although he had been minister so few years, in making the king quite a puppet. The despotic king of France had far less power than our constitutional monarchs of England have; but, alas for France! his minister was not a responsible one. He never forgot the exercise of his plan of making creatures who should depend upon him alone. Beauplan, captain of his guards, having fallen ill, he set Father Joseph to work to ascertain from an officer, of whose merit he entertained a high opinion, whether he would accept the post on his terms, in the event of the death of Beauplan; the conditions being unreserved, unscrupulous devotion to the will of the cardinal. He required his officers to consider him as their sovereign; and that, in all court changes,

they should be of his party, for all and against all, without exception. Such was his principle; he was constantly on the watch for persons, either in the king's service or elsewhere, of decided ability, to allure them to his train; and, it is said, succeeded in this manner, in depriving his majesty of his most efficient servants. If any one exhibited extraordinary attachment for the king, or presumed to seek advancement by that means, he was sure to draw upon himself the jealousy and enmity of the cardinal, and all his hopes were blasted.

Before the king left La Rochelle, he issued a declaration with regard to the city, of the nature of which our readers may judge by a few articles, without the repetition of the whole. It was ordered that the building which was in the Place du Chateau, and which had been used as a Protestant church, should be converted into a cathedral, and the nearest episcopal see transferred to it by permission of the pope; that the mayoralty, the echevinage, the corporation, and the commonalty of the city, the order of peers, as well as that of burgesses, should be suppressed for ever, and that the great bell which used to summon the city assemblies should be melted; that the walls, ramparts, bastions, and all the other fortifications, except the towers of St. Nicholas, of the Chaîne, and of the Lanterne, with the walls towards the sea, which were necessary to secure the inhabitants from the depredations of pirates, should be razed, their foundations destroyed, and their ditches filled up, so that the city should be left entirely open, without permitting even the wall for a garden to be built up for the future; that the city should be from that time taxable, although, for the promotion of trade, the imposts should be moderate; that no foreigner should be allowed to come to dwell in the city for the future; that the same prohibition should extend to those who professed the pretended reformed religion, or any

other than the Catholic religion, who should not be allowed to take up a habitation in the city unless they should have been previously domiciled there, and had not left it in consequence of the descent of the English; and lastly, for the maintenance of these new regulations, which equally concerned the state and the religion of the state, it was ordered there should be an intendant of justice in that city, and in the provinces of Annis, Poitou, and Saintonge, whose jurisdiction should extend from the river Loire to the Garonne and the Gironde.

Thus terminated the privileges of La Rochelle, the principal city of the Huguenots. It is said that the cardinal had intended to ask for the government of this city for himself; but as it was necessary to dismantle it, it became not worth his consideration. He wished to be master of a strong place, to which he could retire in case of need. This very expression, which is often repeated, proves how necessary it must have been for a government, which expected strength or stability, to endeavour to get rid of these strongholds, which were, all over the kingdom, at the service of the noblemen appointed to be governors of the provinces in which they were situated. The walled towns were what feudal castles had been; a discontented noble retired to his provincial town, as he had formerly ensconced himself in his feudal castle or tower.

The English fleet was detained by contrary winds for a few days within sight of La Rochelle, after it was taken; but, on the 11th of November, it set sail for England with the loss of twenty-two vessels, five of which were burnt, and the rest were either sunk or uselessly consumed in their endeavours to burn the French fleet. All the French writers agree in their opinion of the abortive, ill-judged, and badly executed expedition of the English for the succour of La Rochelle. As there was little other occasion for a war beyond the unjustifiable one of interfering between a monarch and his people, we cannot approve of

these expeditions ; and when we judge by the results how inefficiently they must have been carried out, even our nationality cannot induce us to say a word in defence of them.

CHAPTER VI.

Intrigues concerning the marriage of the duke of Orleans—Political events—War with Savoy—Treaty with the Huguenots—Sickness of the Cardinal—Violence of the Queen-Mother—Duke of Orleans dissatisfied—Quarrel of Richelieu with the Queen-Mother—The Cardinal made Generalissimo—Expedition into Savoy—Successes—Treaty of Ratisbonne—Success against Spain—Dangerous illness of the King: his unexpected recovery—Fresh quarrels with Mary de Medici—Day of the Dupes—Gaston leaves the Court—The Queen-Mother left at Compiègne—The Marillacs—Parliament insulted—The Queen-Mother escapes to the Netherlands—Artful policy of the Cardinal.

THE siege of La Rochelle was too remarkable an event to be passed over lightly, or to allow us to interrupt the account of it by any other subject. We must now, therefore, cast a retrospective glance over the latter months of this siege, to observe what passed of importance to our history. Court intrigue had been principally occupied by the subject of the marriage of the duke of Orleans, which, on account of the king's having no children, began to be a matter of importance. The Duke de Nevers, now duke of Mantua, was naturally desirous that his daughter should be the future queen ; and not only offered the duke a dowry of eight hundred thousand crowns with her, but commissioned his sister to bribe all the favourites of the very weak duke who could influence his choice. But Mary de Medici would not hear of this match, and was as earnest in her endeavours to unite him with one of her own family, as her son was in his refusal to espouse

Anne de Medici, the lady she preferred. Intrigues, letters, journeys ensued, terminating in the king's insisting upon Gaston giving his promise that he would not marry Mary de Gonzaga without the consent of their majesties.

This lady's aunt, the Duchess de Longueville, however, with true woman's tact, persisted in her endeavours to bring about the match, and took her niece to every place where Gaston was likely to be met with. The queen-mother, to put an end to this practice, wrote to the duke of Mantua in Italy, to desire him to send for his daughter; and the poor duke, anxious for the support of France in his new territories, did not dare to refuse, although his darling plan might be defeated by it. The duke of Orleans, however, was so exceedingly angry at this proceeding, and was so warm in his remonstrances to the king, that the journey was postponed by command of his majesty. The Cardinal de Richelieu, without whose consent the king never took a step of such consequence, was of opinion that Monsieur should be indulged in this instance; his own object being either to conciliate the duke of Orleans, or to thwart the plans of the queen-mother in order to perpetuate his own government. Mary de Medici was exceedingly provoked at this interference, and began strongly to suspect that the cardinal had much more regard for his own interests than for those of his benefactress.

On his return to Paris, after the taking of La Rochelle, the cardinal received a visit from the duke of Orleans, who pressed him to obtain their majesties' permission to marry Mary de Gonzaga, and told him that he should consider his doing so as a particular obligation. The cardinal replied that, "Monsieur being the second person in the state, he had always considered himself bound to obey him; but that, in this instance, all that he could do was to promise to be neuter, without either opposing or *favouring his* wishes. That his reason for this was, that

the king had forbidden him ever to speak of this marriage, and he did not dare to disobey him. That the queen-mother had conceived a great aversion for this alliance, which she did not think advantageous to the crown, on account of the weak constitution of the princess of Mantua; and that he could not bring himself to oppose the will of her majesty, to whom he had such great obligations. That Monsieur had best, then, himself endeavour to persuade the king and the queen-mother; whilst he, the cardinal, would pray God to inspire all parties with that which would be for the best." It was not often that the cardinal thought it worth while to assume this tone.

In this dilemma two of the parties principally interested, not satisfied with natural means, had recourse to astrology. Fabbroni, whom Mary de Medici consulted, terrified her with the intelligence that the king would not live long; and she was in perpetual apprehension that when her eldest son died, the younger would marry Mary de Gonzaga, which would be the end of all her hopes of perpetuating her influence. The cardinal, likewise, was affected by the same weakness as the queen-mother; he consulted Father Campanella upon the subject of the duke of Orleans, and the oracle replied, "*Imperium non gustabit in æternum*;" which placed his mind very much at ease on that head. Whether the cardinal really believed in this deceitful art or not we are unable to tell; but, although he sometimes was induced by circumstances, such as the king's illness, to pay some little court to the duke of Orleans, he seemed never to dread his accession to the throne. At the siege of La Rochelle he even deprived him of the command, and sent him back to Paris. In fact, Gaston, who left behind him at his death the character of the most inconstant prince that ever lived, though he was constantly involving his friends in cabals against the cardinal, and then abandoning them, must have appeared, to such a mind as Richelieu's, a person of

very little consideration, but one whom he could easily win if he stood in need of him.

Whilst the siege was going on, the Prince de Condé and the Duke de Montmorenci were engaged in endeavouring to subdue the Duke de Rohan, in Languedoc, each with an army much larger than he could bring into the field: the two royal armies amounted to 20,000 men, whereas De Rohan never had more under his command than about 6,000. We will not go into the circumstances of this war, which, during that year, very little concerned the cardinal; but we cannot but observe, that the Prince de Condé and the Duke de Montmorenci, who had very little reason to love the cardinal, and whom he never treated in a manner persons of their birth had a right to expect, were exerting themselves for his glory, and, consequently for his authority, which became fatal to one of them, and upon which the other was dependent as long as he lived. By destroying the strength of the Huguenots in Languedoc, which had always been one of the principal centres of their party, by taking their places, wasting their lands, and thwarting all their views to the utmost of their ability, they only hastened the taking of La Rochelle, to which the cardinal was so pledged, that his reputation and authority would have been jeopardised, if he had failed.

The expense of keeping up so many armies compelled the king to demand the sum of three millions of livres of the clergy, which was granted; to create several new offices, which were put up to sale; to make annuities to the amount of three hundred thousand livres, upon the Hotel de Ville of Paris, and to have recourse to several other extraordinary means for raising money promptly. Among this list, our readers will not fail to remark the usual resource of all incapable French financiers, the invention of offices for sale; than which nothing in a *government* can be more imbecile, short-sighted, and

wicked. The evil was immense to the community, and never failed to recoil upon its perpetrators. This was one of the convenient means resorted to by Francis I., when rendered poor by his wars and his pleasures, and left an indelible stain upon his reign.

Italy, beautiful Italy, was at this time, as at most others, since the breaking up of the empire, the battle ground for contending claimants, and the arena of intrigue ; its great states were divided into petty provinces, so various, and yet so attractive, that there was scarcely a continental power that had not either present or anticipatory pretensions to a share of the booty. Spain, Germany, Nassau, Savoy, all are mixed up with Mantua, Milan, Venice, and other Italian states, in such a confusion of claims and contests, that the historian has great difficulty in tracing the objects or actions of each. The poor Duke de Nevers, contending for Mantua, complained of everybody, and appealed to everybody, but was assisted by nobody. France, to which he had most reason to look for aid, was sufficiently occupied with the great siege ; besides which, Mary de Medici, who had still some power, hated him on account of his daughter. All that France could do was to give orders to the Marshal de Crequi to raise 8,000 foot and 800 horse, and make his way as speedily as possible into Montferrat : the Marshal d'Huxelles was also sent to take the command of his armies, with orders to force his way into Montferrat, in spite of the duke of Savoy. The duke of Savoy had quickly made himself master of Alba and Trino ; and Don Gonzalvo earnestly pressed him to join him in laying siege to Casal ; but Charles Emanuel preferred taking places he might retain for his own advantage, to losing time in putting the Spaniards in possession of their share. Casal was a place of great consequence to Piedmont ; the power that held Casal might seriously inconvenience Piedmont, at pleasure. The cardinal, being of opinion that Casal, now besieged by

no less a captain than the famous Gonzalvo de Cordova, should be relieved as soon as possible, made extraordinary efforts to effect new levies for that purpose. The duke of Mantua having refused to place his states in the hands of the emperor, that potentate became, likewise, his active enemy.

Neither the cardinal nor the French nation could endure the idea of allowing Spain to oppress the duke of Mantua; with them his rights and claims were indisputable, because he was a Frenchman. But to send him an effective body of troops, whilst engaged before La Rochelle, was impossible; so the cardinal, to gain time, made various proposals at Madrid and Turin, which, as he no doubt expected, and, perhaps, hoped, were all disapproved of.

The troops sent into Italy under the Marquis d'Huxelles proved to be of no use; Crequi, influenced as it was supposed by the queen-mother, obstinately refused to act in conjunction with him, or to march, indeed, at all; and the expedition rather assisted than injured the duke of Savoy, who, if he had not been withheld by respect for Louis XIII., might have followed up his victories to the serious detriment of France. The emperor, thinking the opportunity favourable for establishing his seignorial claims, offered to hold Casal, in trust, till the affair was arranged; and proposed that the Spaniards and the Savoyards should keep possession, till the same time, of the places they had taken: but these transparent offers were too unjust, and, indeed, too absurd, to be listened to: it would have been only dispossessing the legitimate successor of the states of the house of Gonzaga, and leaving to the usurpers all that force of arms alone had put in their power.

But the moment La Rochelle was taken, the cardinal turned his attention to another of his great objects—the *chasement* of the house of Austria, to be begun by assist-

ing the duke of Mantua without delay. This affair was of such importance, that he condescended to bring it before a council, to which the principal nobles of the kingdom were summoned. In this council all were not of the same opinion; the Cardinal de Berulle, then head of the council of the queen-mother, was of opinion that the expedition should be put off till the spring, and supported his views by cogent reasons. There was no doubt his dissent came from the queen-mother, who hated the duke of Mantua, and who was never a luke-warm partisan. The Cardinal de Richelieu was, however, firm in a contrary opinion: "The king's reputation," he said, "would be compromised if he allowed the duke of Mantua to be oppressed; the Spaniards only maltreated him because he was a Frenchman. France had great interest in supporting such an allied prince as he was in Italy, where the king of Spain was already but too powerful. The duke, if not assisted, would be constrained to come to terms with the Spaniards, who were, in that case, sure to despoil him of a portion of his states. It would be disgraceful to allow a prince, like the duke of Savoy, to make war with impunity upon the allies of the crown, and take from them territories that were theirs by right of inheritance."

In addition to these reasons, he addressed the following prophetic words to the king, in order to incite him to the undertaking:—

"Sire,

"After your majesty has, by the taking of La Rochelle, completed the most glorious enterprise for yourself, and the most useful for your state that you can hope to achieve in your life, Italy, oppressed for more than a year by the arms of the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy, awaits, from your victorious hand, relief from her evils. Your reputation demands you to assist the cause of your neighbours and allies, whose enemies wish to despoil them

unjustly of their states. But, in addition to these reasons, which in themselves are important, your own interests engage you to turn your attention and your arms in that direction ; and I will venture to promise you, if you form this resolution, and carry it out properly, that the issue of this enterprise will not be less fortunate than that of La Rochelle. I am not a prophet, but I believe I can assure your majesty, that if no time be lost in executing this design, you will have raised the siege of Casal, and have given peace to Italy by the month of May ; and that, returning with your army into Languedoc, you will reduce all to obedience, and give peace to your own subjects by the end of July ; so that your majesty may, as I hope, return victorious to Paris in the course of August."

The cardinal's opinion prevailed, and about fourteen thousand men were ordered to march towards Dauphiny, under the command of Thoiras. More troops were to be raised in Dauphiny, and the Marquis d'Estrées was to bring others from Picardy, which would, altogether, compose an army capable of delivering the duke of Mantua from his fears of the Spaniards and Savoyards. But this armament was not destined to verify the cardinal's prediction : the winter, the plague, which raged in Dauphiny and Provence, with the obstinate Huguenots in Languedoc, all united in delaying its operations during the year 1628.

As a bribe to Gaston, to induce him to give up his idea of marrying Mary de Gonzaga, he was declared general of the army of Italy, and the king made him a present of 50,000 crowns for his equipment ; but the duke lost it all in one evening's play, and his command came, as will be seen, to nothing : " The king, after being prevailed upon by his mother to place his brother at the head of the army, was seized with one of his frequently recurring fits of *jealousy*, and repented that the duke would have a chance

of rivalling or exceeding him in glory ; for, be it understood, Louis arrogated to himself the reduction of La Rochelle, although he was really quite innocent of the matter. As usual, he carried his troubles to the cardinal, and told him that he could not consent that Monsieur should command the army of Italy, and that he must contrive to deprive him of the post." The cardinal replied, " that there was but one means of taking the command from the duke, which was, that the king should go himself ; but if he did form that resolution, he must carry it into effect within a week." There can be very little doubt that this all fell out exactly as the cardinal intended ; the royal brothers were like playthings in his hands.

The king agreed to do as his minister wished, and prepared for his immediate departure. The duke was to attend the king in quality of lieutenant-general, with the Marshals de Crequi, de Bassompierre, and Schomberg ; the *mestres-de-camp* were Valençai, Thoiras, and D'Auriac.

On the 15th of January the king went to the parliament, where the keeper of the seals signified the necessity the king felt for going to assist the duke of Mantua by force of arms ; negotiations had proved useless, and by being procrastinated they might cause the ruin of that prince. The parliament approved of the design, according to custom, and sanctioned all the declarations that had been proposed for bringing money into the king's coffers. Louis then published an amnesty for all the Huguenot cities, and for all those of that party who would avail themselves of that pardon within fifteen days of its publication, without even excluding Soubise or Rohan. It was believed that most of the Huguenots, upon seeing all chance of successful resistance over, would lay down their arms and abandon such a desperate cause.

The next day, amidst a heavy fall of snow, the king set out for Dauphiny ; and, two days after, the cardinal

followed him. Monsieur went with the king as far as Lyons ; but, instead of accompanying him further, he turned aside towards Dombes, and from thence returned to Paris. Before leaving the route to Dauphiny, he told Marshal Bassompierre that there could be nothing for him to do in the army now the Cardinal de Richelieu was with it, for he would not only perform his duty, but the king's likewise ; it was well known, he said, that the year before, the cardinal had come to La Rochelle, and dragged the king with him against his will, only for the purpose of depriving his brother of the command.

The king and the cardinal having arrived at Grenoble, set out, in very bad weather, from that place for the foot of the Alps, which were covered with snow. As soon as they joined the army, whose march was extremely painful and slow, the Commander de Valençai was sent to the duke of Savoy to demand a passage and provisions for the army, consisting of twenty-eight thousand men. The king required safe passage, and provisions for money ; in return for which he offered to give up Trino to the duke of Savoy, with states in Montferrat, yielding twelve thousand crowns of annual revenue, provided he would renounce all pretensions to that duchy. Charles Emanuel seemed disposed to give satisfaction to the king ; but he delayed the execution of his promises as long as he could, and continued to fortify his places. He made different vague proposals by the Count de Verruë, which bore no relation to the matter in question ; and the count declared, at length, that he really had no power to conclude anything.

As it was plain the duke of Savoy only wanted to gain time to complete his fortifications, or to allow Casal to fall into the hands of the Spaniards, the army continued to advance. On reaching Chaumont, the prince of Piedmont came to confer with the cardinal. The prelate pressed him to grant what the king asked, rather than to

oblige him to force a passage, and the prince appeared at least shaken by his reasons ; but he had no power to conclude anything without consulting the duke his father. He went to him to inform him of what had passed with the cardinal, and promised to return with the duke's orders ; but, instead of bringing them himself, he, the next day, sent the Count de Verruë, who said that the prince, not being able to find his father at Rivoli, as he had expected, was gone to Turin, and they could not look for an answer that day. He added, that the duke his master, although seriously indisposed, had determined to see the king ; and, rather than wait longer, he would be carried in a litter. But these wily Italians had to do with a master in political craft ; the cardinal was not to be paid in such coin, and he so closely pressed the count, to draw from him the real intentions of the duke, that he at length declared that if the king would allow his highness to retain all he had taken in Montferrat, as the Spaniards had done, the passage should be instantly thrown open to the royal army. The cardinal rejected this proposition at once, and said that, "knowing the justice and the generosity of the king, he was sure his majesty would reject it as he had done ; and that there was a great deal of difference between what the duke of Savoy received from the Spaniards, to favour a manifest usurpation, and what he might expect from the king, who was come to succour a prince who was his ally, and not to ruin him ; but he would not fail to let his majesty know the proposals."

The cardinal received intelligence that the troops of Don Gonzalvo were advancing with all speed, and that some of them were already in Susa. He therefore began to fear, that if the duke of Savoy were allowed more time, the passage would be difficult. After holding a council, in which the three marshals were present, it was resolved to attack, on the following day, the barricades which the duke had thrown up in the road to Susa, in the narrowest

passage between the two mountains. They were reconnoitred by a man ostensibly sent to Susa, with a letter to the Count de Verruë. This man reported what he had seen, and the attack was planned accordingly.

At seven o'clock in the morning, the king and the cardinal repaired to the field of battle, and commenced the attack upon the barricades, whilst other troops passed along the heights of the mountain on the right and left. These no sooner appeared on the flanks of the Piedmontese than the latter fell into disorder, and yielded the passage to the royal troops. They were pursued with so much vigour, that if the generals had permitted it, the French troops might have entered Susa with the fugitives; but the king did not think fit to allow the city to be sacked. They contented themselves with taking up a position close to the gates; and the duke of Savoy, feeling his inability to defend the city, ordered the governor to surrender it the following day. As for himself, he made his retreat as quickly as possible, and narrowly escaped being taken by the forlorn hope of the conquering army. Thus the French, without loss, and in a very few hours, made themselves masters of a pass that might have been defended against even a larger army, if the duke of Savoy had had as much capacity for carrying on a war as he had eagerness to undertake one. He was soon obliged to adopt a very different tone from that which he had assumed the preceding year.

On the 8th of March, Crequi and Bassompierre (Schomberg being wounded) passed the Doire, and fixed their quarters at Bussolengo. Before proceeding further, the king sent the Marquis de Santerre to Turin, to pay his compliments to his sister, the princess of Piedmont; and on Santerre's return, the marshals had orders not to undertake anything till the marquis had been to the duke of Savoy, and offered him peace if he would allow free *passage for the army* to Casal, and furnish provisions for

money. The duke of Savoy, who looked for much worse conditions, was very glad to be let off at so cheap a rate ; and on the 11th of March, he sent the prince of Piedmont to Susa, where he agreed with the cardinal to the following articles : 1. The duke promised to grant, at present and for the future, a free passage for the French troops through his states, and to supply them with necessary provisions. 2. The French were to be allowed to purchase all the corn and other articles of food that they could convey to Casal. 3. The duke promised, moreover, that Don Gonzalvo should raise the siege of Casal ; should withdraw his troops from Mantua ; should be bound to undertake nothing, for the future, in the states of the duke of Mantua ; and should furnish, within six weeks, a ratification of these promises by his Catholic majesty. 4. He was to enter into a league with the pope, the king, the republic of Venice, and the duke of Mantua, for the defence of the states of the latter, and for the preservation of the repose of Italy ; and should subscribe to this league as soon as three of the powers should have signed it. 5. To assure the king of the execution of this promise, he was to place in his majesty's hands the citadel of Susa and the castle of St. François. 6. The king, on his part, promised to cause the duke of Mantua to cede to the duke of Savoy, Trino, with states producing a revenue of fifteen thousand gold crowns. Till this was effected, his majesty consented that the duke should retain all he had taken in Montferrat, upon condition that he should surrender it when the king should restore to him the citadel of Susa and the castle of St. Francis. The king placed garrisons in these two places, and Gonzalvo sent in his ratification of the treaty, only requiring an admission that the king did not come into Italy for the purpose of invading his master's territories. This the king instantly complied with ; and, for the present, the affair was concluded.

The king, whilst at Susa, received the ambassadors of

almost all the princes of Italy, and concluded two important treaties; one was the league with the Republic of Venice and the duke of Savoy, for the preservation of the states of the duke of Mantua and the peace of Italy; the other was the conclusion of a peace with England. King Charles, after threatening to do a great deal, and putting himself and his people to vast expense, withdrew from the contest without having increased the reputation of himself or his country. He was forced to have recourse to the Venetians to obtain a disadvantageous peace. The French writers are severe upon Charles; they say, he promised by this treaty to execute faithfully the articles of the queen's marriage-contract, which he had so often violated, and as often renewed with so much humility; and agreed that if any change took place with regard to the queen, it should be by the consent of the two crowns.

Tired of remaining at Susa, because there was no sporting in such a mountainous country, the king went to the blockade of Privas, where the Huguenots had not laid down their arms, leaving the cardinal with the greater part of the army, in quality of general, and Marshals Bassompierre and Crequi as lieutenant-generals. But, all affairs being satisfactorily arranged, the cardinal and Bassompierre followed the king in a few days, leaving Crequi as lieutenant-general, beyond the mountains. The account we have felt it necessary to give of this Italian expedition may at first appear to belong rather to history than biography; but it cannot fail to be observed, that though the king was the nominal leader, the cardinal was the guiding and governing spirit of both the military achievements and the political conclusions. Another circumstance likewise strikes us forcibly in reviewing the events of this short war, which is the incalculable advantage of having persons possessed of entire power on the scene of action. If the politic but jealous cardinal, and *the timid suspicious king*, had been left at Paris, and the

generals had constantly been compelled to apply for fresh orders, as military or political circumstances required, the expedition would have had a very different result.

Privas, under the Marquis de St. André, making a bolder and longer resistance than was expected, so irritated the king, that after it was taken, he proved how ill he deserved the title of Louis the Just, in which he took such pride, by the destruction of the place, and the indiscriminate slaughter of the inhabitants. The accounts of this affair are too horrible to be repeated. The king was so vindictive as to take pleasure in beholding the massacre of these people, because, he said, they were the Duke de Rohan's best soldiers. Louis' excesses were even too great to be pleasing to his monitor, and the cardinal rose from a sick-bed, and mounted on horseback, to endeavour by his presence to save the lives of some of the unfortunate Huguenots. He succeeded so far, but the city was entirely destroyed. "But," says a French writer, "there is very little pity or clemency in timid, suspicious, superstitious minds, and the most cruel actions are, according to their principles, but very small faults, when they are not opposed to their passions."

After the taking of this place, the army proceeded to act with vigour against the Duke de Rohan, who was at length reduced to obedience. The cardinal sent him word, that if he did not wish to ruin both himself and his party entirely, he must return to his duty as a subject. The minister offered life and liberty, with the enjoyment of their property, to him and his brothers, and freedom of conscience to all Huguenots, upon condition that the fortifications of Nismes, Castres, Uzès, and Montaubon, not yet in the hands of the king, should be razed.

This treaty was signed at Allais on the 27th of June, 1629; but the Duke de Rohan was never admitted to the presence of the king, although he earnestly solicited the cardinal to that purpose. He was compelled to leave the

kingdom, and to promise to remain absent from France during the king's pleasure : a short time after, he embarked at Marseilles for Venice.

On entering Nesmes, the king published the declaration he had promised the Huguenots. He left them liberty of worship, and the enjoyment of their property, but he took from them all corporate strength, all political influence, and all possibility of exciting civil troubles. The last article stipulated that the Catholic religion should be re-established everywhere, and that the Huguenots should restore the ecclesiastical property, the churches and the monasteries of which they had become possessed during the war.

The cardinal was at this time suffering from a tertian fever, but he, notwithstanding, deemed it prudent that the king should return to Paris, either from a fear that Louis would be incommoded by the summer heats of Languedoc, or because he did not think it to his interest that the queen-mother should be left so long alone. For himself, he remained in Languedoc, in order to superintend the demolition of the fortifications of the Huguenot places, particularly those of Montauban. This ought to have been the duty of the Prince de Condé, who had the command of the troops posted round the city ; but the inhabitants, irritated against him on account of the wanton devastation he had committed, and the hatred he entertained for all Huguenots, more from caprice than devotion, and which he evinced by the cruel manner in which he treated all who fell into his hands, refused to effect the capitulation, in order to avoid having to deal with a man who hated them, and who really loved nothing but money. They secretly gave the cardinal to understand the reason of their delay, and told him that if he came himself to execute the treaty of peace, he should be welcome, and should witness the obedience they were willing to render *to the king's declaration*. He accordingly contrived that

the Prince de Condé should voluntarily renounce this task, under the pretence of illness, which would not allow him to undergo the necessary fatigue.

In the meanwhile, the cardinal sent the king's declaration to the parliament of Toulouse, in order to have it verified there, without modifications; fearing some would be introduced on account of the sentences that had been pronounced against the Huguenots. This verification was made on the 18th of August, pure and simple, as the cardinal had wished, to avoid driving the inhabitants of Montauban to extremities. Thus, after a few negotiations with the people of that city, who were anxious to preserve a part of their fortifications, but who at length complied with all that was desired of them, the cardinal made his public entry, at the head of two thousand foot and some cavalry, which were to leave the city when he did. He remained there two days, and was received with extraordinary acclamations by a people who did not naturally respect Catholic ecclesiastics. But the wonderful success of almost everything the cardinal had undertaken during his ministry, and the great authority he enjoyed from the king, in addition to the bad state of Huguenot affairs, with, perhaps, the knowledge everybody possessed of the cardinal's love of praise, rendered them as great flatterers as other people. There was no honour they were not prepared to render him, and not only the magistrates, but even the ministers went to compliment him in the name of the Consistory, in the most submissive terms. He replied to them, among other things, "That it was not the custom in France to receive them as a Church body, at any time or on any occasion, but that he received them as men of letters: that in that quality he should always be happy to see them, and he would endeavour to prove to them, whenever they met, that diversity of religious opinions should never prevent his rendering them all the good offices in his power: that he made no difference

between subjects, but for the more or less fidelity they evinced, and which, as he hoped, being thenceforward equal in both religions, he should treat all the king's subjects alike."

Uzès and Castres shared the fate of Montauban, and the Huguenot party, entirely deprived of their cities of safety, were reduced to dependence on the mere good-will of the king, who paid no more attention to his declarations than his ministers thought expedient. From that time the party diminished insensibly; and, notwithstanding the obedience they exhibited to the sovereign, the government scarcely ever ceased to labour for their ruin until, under another reign, they were entirely annihilated by the revocation of the edict of Nantes. Colbert would, perhaps, in his admiration of their industry and commercial spirit, have ameliorated their destiny; but, under such a master as Louis XIV., he could only encourage them as mechanics and traders—he could do nothing for them as Huguenots: all his wise policy was able to effect was to put off the evil day, as injurious to the king as it was fatal to one of the best classes of his subjects.

The duke of Orleans preserved his character of a disturber of the peace wherever he was. Without feeling any great or sincere affection for Mary of Gonzaga, he persisted in his demands to be allowed to marry her, and even laid more than one plan for carrying her off. This greatly irritated his mother, and led her to the commission of violence equal to his own. She seized the princess and her aunt, the Duchess de Longueville, and had them conveyed to the Bois de Vincennes. Upon this the duke was so enraged that he threatened to retire to the states of his appanage, and to remain at Blois or Orleans till he received satisfaction.

The queen-mother sent couriers to the king, in all haste, to inform him of what she had done. The relations of *the princess* were loud in their complaints; and to appease

them, they were allowed to visit her. She was not lodged in the tower, but in the palace of the Bois de Vincennes, and was treated with much respect.

We may here remark, in passing, that the Duke de Vendôme was still detained close prisoner at Vincennes; that the Grand Prieur, his brother, had died there, in the month of February, and that the king had wished to give the two best abbeys the Grand Prieur had possessed to the Cardinal de Richelieu; but that the cardinal had refused them, "because," he said, "having been in the king's council when interests of state forced him to cause the Grand Prieur to be arrested, *it would go against the heart it had pleased God to give him*, if he partook of his spoils." If this was not an act of good feeling on the part of the cardinal, as he wished it to be believed to be, it was at least an act of prudence: the memory of Henry IV. was dear to the nation, and the people could not have viewed without jealousy and suspicion the benefices the king had given his son, fall into the hands of the minister who had ruined him.

The king and the cardinal were much annoyed, on receiving the queen's despatches, at the violent manner in which she had acted against Mary of Gonzaga. They, however, deemed it most prudent to dissemble, by appearing to approve of what she had done, and only requested that Monsieur's mind should not be irritated by too severe treatment. All France also blamed the queen-mother for opposing so strongly the duke's wishes, and for taking upon herself to arrest the daughter of a sovereign prince without the king's knowledge. Mary de Medici, however, naturally obstinate and impetuous, notwithstanding the disapproval of even her own court, still persisted in her endeavours to marry her son into the house of Florence. On his part, the cardinal, who had, by the taking of La Rochelle and the deliverance of Casal, laid the foundation of his power upon a more solid basis than

the favour of the queen-mother, began to be heedless of that princess's support, and likewise to fear he might injure himself irretrievably with the duke of Orleans if he strongly or openly assisted her designs. He consequently offered very little opposition to the attempts of the enemies of the queen-mother, who did not fail to communicate to the king all that was said by the public on this affair; almost everybody taking part with the duke. Mary de Medici became convinced that the cardinal had grown cool with regard to her interests, and began, characteristically, to hate him as fervently as she had formerly loved him.

When the king and the cardinal returned, the princesses were liberated, and the cardinal expressed himself warmly and openly on the subject, which greatly irritated the queen-mother. The only condition attached to the return of the princess to court was, that the duke should promise not to marry her without the consent of their majesties. This young lady must have fancied herself of great importance: her father sent a nobleman to fetch her, apparently wishing to have her at his own court, but most likely, in reality, for the purpose of forcing matters to an issue; but the queen-mother dreading some violence on the part of the duke, did not dare to let her go.

As the king approached Paris, the duke of Orleans, to avoid seeing him, retired to Joinville, a place in Champagne, belonging to the duke of Guise. He gave out at the same time, that it was his intention to go into Lorraine or Flanders until he had received satisfaction for the injuries and insults that had been heaped upon him. By this conduct, instead of rendering the king more favourable to him, he only contrived to make himself of less consequence at court; and the king refused to grant him any favour unless he came to ask for it in a submissive manner. The cardinal, by his vigorous measures, had made the king absolute master in his kingdom, and no one, however dissatisfied, ventured to show his discontent

publicly, or to offer that assistance to the duke of Orleans, which, not long before, would have been caught at by ambitious nobles as a cloak for their own rebellion. The king, therefore, took very little heed of what his brother either said or did. The queen wished him to return; the duke was exorbitant in his demands, and the cardinal would not allow the king to treat with his brother at all, whilst the latter persisted in the line of conduct he had adopted.

Galled by the contempt shown for him at court, the duke retired to Lorraine. The queen-mother was so agitated at learning his departure, that she was obliged to be bled. All France blamed her severity towards this prince, whom she wished to govern like a child; and even the king at length gave her to understand, by a few words, that he thought she had gone too far. This completed her affliction, as she had calculated upon the king's authority to bring her younger son to a proper sense of his duty. Shortly after this, the duke of Orleans published a kind of manifesto, in which, not daring to complain of either the king or the queen-mother, he accused the Cardinal de Richelieu and the Marquis d'Effial of the disorders that still existed in the state. This step of the duke caused the cardinal positively to refuse the queen to interfere at all in the affair of his marriage. The duke of Orleans then wrote a long letter to the king, in which he pointed out the causes he had for being dissatisfied with the court; without, however, going far into the details. His principal complaint was directed against the cardinal, whom he called *the Mayor of the Palace of the present time*, and who, he said, had usurped the royal authority. Then followed the moderate demands of the prince who, so short a time before, had married the rich heiress of Montpensier! He required, if it were desired that he should return to court, that his appanage should be greatly increased; that a large sum of money should be given to him for the discharge of

his debts, together with the government of a province; that he should be admitted into the close council, and be declared lieutenant-general of the king in all the armies where the king did not command in person; that the Duke de Vendôme should be liberated, and have his government of Brittany restored to him; and, in conclusion, that several posts, pensions, &c., should be given to the Duke de Bellegarde, the President de Coigneux, and Puylaurens, his principal advisers.

The cardinal returned to court at the commencement of the autumn, and was received very coolly by the queen-mother; who, moreover, did not even deign to look at the Marshals Bassompierre and Schomberg when presented to her by the cardinal. The queen at length asked him after his health. He replied, "*I am better than many who are here wish me to be.*" On hearing these words the queen coloured; but feigning not to pay attention to them, she laughed at seeing the Cardinal de Berulle enter in a short cloak and white boots; upon which Richelieu observed, *that he wished he stood as high in her favour as the person she laughed at.* Hereupon several words passed on both sides; but the unfriendly dialogue was interrupted by the entrance of the king, who expressed great joy at seeing the cardinal, and took him into his closet, where the prelate described the manner in which the queen had received him, and had recourse to his old trick of earnestly desiring to be allowed to withdraw from public affairs. But the king replied that he would reconcile them; and having spoken to his mother, she appeared to consent. On the following day, therefore, the cardinal went to the queen-mother to endeavour to reinstate himself in her good opinion. But that princess instantly began by reproaching him with ingratitude, and with having abandoned her in the affair of Gaston's marriage. They rose to such high words, that the king, who was informed of what was going on, came hastily to the

assistance of the cardinal. The irritated queen declared to him that she insisted upon the cardinal's no longer taking any part in her affairs, and that he should never even intrude himself upon her presence. Some historians say that this was by a note which she sent him, and which the cardinal showed to the king, protesting, at the same time, that if the queen deprived him of the superintendence of her majesty's household, he should be obliged to leave the court, where he could not be afterwards looked upon but as an unfaithful and ungrateful servant. However this may be, the king was so earnest in his endeavours, that he succeeded in reconciling them, at least in appearance.

She, notwithstanding, continued to complain in private to her confidants, that the cardinal prevented any satisfaction being given to Monsieur, under the pretence than an increase of that prince's authority must diminish that of the king. The cardinal, as the queen-mother believed, effected two objects by this ; he fed the parsimonious and jealous humour of the king, and he incited Monsieur to demand with more persistency to be allowed to marry Mary of Gonzaga, since all other satisfaction was denied him. She still further feared that by this means the cardinal would gain the favour of the house of Longueville, which would give him hopes of marrying his niece, De Combalet, to the Count de Soissons ; that after having brought about the marriage of the duke and the princess of Mantua effectually to satisfy him, he would have everything he desired ; and that the king being so infatuated with the cardinal, that he was persuaded he had preserved his crown, and that he laboured only for his master's glory, that prelate would always enjoy more authority with the king than his mother would.

She said that the cardinal had become so insolent, that he had given her to understand " that it was time she should be contented with depending upon him ; that he had told

her, in spite of her anger against him, he would never fail to serve her, and render her good offices with the king her son, of which she stood in great need, because his majesty had constant evidence that she wished to preserve her authority, even to the disadvantage of his majesty's, and that by her excessive rigour she had constrained her other son to retire from court; that the cardinal had added, thereupon, that she should remember she might require his support."

Another time, as she related, the cardinal, wishing to entrap her, said, "since she conceived her honour engaged in excluding Mary of Gonzaga, he could not advise her to consent to the marriage; but, in order to appease the duke of Orleans, and to prevent the whole kingdom from thinking it strange that everything he requested was refused, she had better shut her eyes, and, without giving her consent, allow Monsieur to marry the princess clandestinely. Advantage might always be taken of the circumstance; since, if she did not have children, as the queen-mother said she would not, it would be very easy to declare this marriage null, and to have it entirely dissolved." But the queen-mother very judiciously rejected this advice, because all that was said of the sterility of the princess of Mantua was very uncertain; and, if she had children, their legitimacy might be doubted, and serious differences and calamities might ensue.

During these disputes the cardinal appeared very pensive; he perceived that the least passionate blamed him for ingratitude to the queen-mother; and he feared, if the king should die, as several astrologers had predicted, he should be exposed to the anger of that princess, and, perhaps, to that of the new king, with whom it would be no easy matter to be reconciled. In addition to these causes for anxiety, many persons of the first order, particularly the members of the house of Guise, secretly *endeavoured* to make the cardinal yield to the queen.

About this time died Prince Berulle, the queen-mother's only councillor, who had been made cardinal two years before. Richelieu did not like him, although he was an upright man, and of exemplary life. He had more than once treated him as a man without capacity, on account of the counsels he had given the queen-regent during the absence of the king, particularly in the affair of the imprisonment of the princess of Mantua. Everybody was convinced that the queen-mother only desired to reign as long as she lived, and that she assumed too much authority over her sons. The king felt so perfectly assured of this, that the anger of his mother against the Cardinal de Richelieu served but to augment his confidence in his minister.

A short time afterwards, the king issued letters-patent, in which, after having proclaimed the praises of the Cardinal de Richelieu, he declared him *principal minister of state*. The cardinal had performed the functions of this office since a short time after his admission to the council; but, as the rank he held above the other ministers of state appeared to be rather attached to his dignity of cardinal than to his person, these letters-patent distinguished him above all the rest by giving him the title of *principal minister of state*, rather than that of *first*, which only denoted the rank.

The Duke de Bellegarde came to court, on the part of the duke of Orleans, to endeavour to obtain something, and to implore the queen-mother not to be reconciled to the cardinal, upon whom Monsieur was determined to be revenged. He told the queen-mother that the duke would marry whatever princess her majesty pleased. The duke consented to return to France, and to remain for some time at Orleans without seeing the king, provided his appanage was increased by a hundred thousand livres of rent in estates, which was at length granted him, by assigning to him the duchy of Valois, in addition to what he already possessed.

As might have been easily supposed, as soon as the French army left in Italy was found to be unequal to the task of maintaining all the advantages gained by the king and the cardinal, the emperor, the king of Spain, and even the duke of Savoy, in defiance of the peace made with the latter, renewed the attacks upon the duchy of Mantua. The French lost one fortress after another, till at length they had no place left but Casal and Pontesture for the defence of Montferrat.

The cardinal made every exertion to remedy this state of things, and French troops were immediately marched towards the pass of Susa, of which the king assigned the command to the cardinal. A few days before his departure, a Spanish agent, named Navas, about to return to Spain, having come to take leave, the cardinal charged him to inform his master, and more particularly the Count Olivarez, "That the king was still desirous to live in peace with his Catholic majesty, and retained the same views with respect to Italy; but if no regard were paid to his good will, Spain might be assured that France was quite in a condition to go to war with any power that was unwilling to preserve peace, and would not shun it: by this his Catholic majesty might perceive that the king left him free choice—peace or war."

At length an army of twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse being assembled in Dauphiny, the king expedited letters-patent to the cardinal, dated the 24th of December, in which, after bestowing great praises on that prelate, he gave him the title of *lieutenant-general, representing the person of the king*, which had never before been given to any one. He was permitted to receive and hear the ambassadors of princes and the deputies of cities and communities, and to send ambassadors to the same, as he judged proper for the king's service. His enemies said, in order to render his power odious, *that the king had despoiled himself of all his authority in his favour,*

and had reserved nothing to himself but the faculty of curing the evil. It was for him that, on this occasion, was invented the title of *generalissimo*, to distinguish him from the Marshals Crequi, De Schomberg, and La Force, who were to serve under him as lieutenant-generals.

He left Paris on the 29th of December, and got into his carriage, with the Cardinal de la Valette at one door, and the Marshals Bassompierre and Schomberg at the other. A hundred horsemen, of persons of the highest quality of the court, accompanied him half a league from Paris, where his guards awaited him, with eight companies of the regiment of royal guards, of three hundred men each. All who wished to bid him farewell having retired, he took the road to Lyons, with his little flying camp, which the king gave him for the safety of his person.

Some months before his departure, the cardinal had the satisfaction of learning that Urban VIII. had granted a cardinal's hat to his brother, the archbishop of Lyons, and to the nuncio Bagni, who was his particular friend; so that it appeared as if everybody was eager to do honour to his family, and to show their good-will to him.

The cardinal arrived at Lyons on the 18th of January, 1630, from which place he sent Servien to the duke of Savoy, to inform him that he was approaching the frontiers with an army of thirty thousand men, for the succour of the duke of Mantua; and that he therefore expected that, according to the treaty of Susa, the duke would allow him free passage through his states, and would join his army with the king's, as he had further promised lately by his ambassador, the President de Montfalcon. The duke denied having given such an order to his ambassador, and said that the prince of Piedmont was gone to the Pont de Beauvoisin, where he would confer with the cardinal.

Three days after the arrival of that prelate at Lyons, the Count de St. Maurice came, on the part of the prince of Piedmont, who was then at the Pont de Beauvoisin, to

offer to allow a passage for the army through the states of the duke his father, and to beg the cardinal to come to that place to confer with him.

The cardinal replied that he would consult with the French marshals and other nobles who were with him at Lyons on the subject. He then called together the marshals, the Duke de Montmorenci, and the Marquis d'Alincourt, governor of Lyons, and laid the message before them. The governor said he saw no imprudence or impropriety in complying with the wish of the prince. Marshal Schomberg, who spoke next, said, "That for several reasons, he was not of opinion the cardinal should go to the Pont de Beauvoisin. He thought it would appear as if the cardinal went to seek the prince from an eagerness to obtain peace ; and that the Spaniards, when they became aware of it, would in consequence only make it on terms advantageous for themselves. The proposition of the prince was nothing but an artifice, to retard the march of the army and the execution of the king's intentions. It was from vanity that the Spaniards, who were quite as eager for peace as the French were, wished to treat before the French army left the kingdom. It was his opinion that the duke of Savoy should be told plainly that he played too neuter a part in this affair, which made him wish to negotiate in a place belonging half to the king and half to himself. In conclusion, he said, that it was his advice the cardinal should reply, that having affairs at Lyons that would occupy a week, and being likewise indisposed, he could not go to Pont de Beauvoisin ; but if the prince would come to Lyons, he should be received with the respect due to his rank ; and if he could not come, the cardinal would see him at Chamberry, in his way to Italy, if he were willing to meet him there." Marshal de la Force and the Duke de Montmorenci agreed with Schomberg, and approved of the advice.

Marshal de Bassompierre was of a different opinion,

and assigned very cogent reasons for it. He said, that unless there were secret motives for refusing to listen to proposals for peace, he could not see why the cardinal should not go. The prince of Piedmont was well affected towards France, was brother-in-law to the king, and had come fifty leagues in fearfully cold weather to propose matters to the cardinal that might be very advantageous to the crown. In fact, all he said answered so reasonably what had been advised by Schomberg, that it might be thought the cardinal must act in accordance with the views of Bassompierre, who, in addition to being a good soldier, was a shrewd, intelligent man. But, notwithstanding every moment's absence from court was full of danger to the cardinal, he loved to play a high part in the eyes of Europe; the first opinion was most pleasing to his vanity, and he adopted it.

He wrote to the king, who approved of his conduct, and forbade him to listen to any proposition that could be made him for a mere suspension of arms, or to enter into any long negotiation. His wish was to have either a prompt and secure peace, or a war. He added, "If the emperor had thought proper to grant the duke of Mantua the investiture of his states, and the king of Spain would have allowed him to enjoy them in peace, France would never have dreamt of carrying her arms into Italy; and there was nothing short of this that should prevent his troops from crossing the mountains.

As no advances were made on the part of Austria, the cardinal set forward from Lyons towards Susa, on the 28th of January. He sent D'Hemery to the duke of Savoy, to amuse him with proposals, for fear of his becoming so irritated against France, as to join the Imperialists and Spaniards at once. If the duke had done so, it would have become necessary for the French to commence by attacking Piedmont, for fear of leaving a formidable enemy in their rear.

The duke of Savoy was highly incensed at the apparent want of respect to his son ; but the cardinal gave him to understand, that it would not have been consistent with the dignity of the king to treat with the duke of Savoy as an equal, which he would have done if his minister had gone to the frontiers, to a place named by the prince of Piedmont. Although the duke had little reason to be satisfied with this evasion of the cardinal's, he did not fail to send his son to Susa, where he had several conferences with that minister. The prince wished to begin by his own enemies first, and attack the republic of Genoa and the duchy of Milan, upon which terms he said his father's troops should instantly join the king's, and he would not only furnish everything wanted from his own states, but would give up places of strength. The cardinal, however, was too good a politician to be so misled ; these proposals had nothing to do with the views of the French, and he insisted upon the duke's appointing the stations for provisioning the army on its march towards Mantua, which was in much danger from the Spaniards.

The duke of Savoy being thus closely pressed by the cardinal, complied, and the army advanced to Condoné, and from thence to Cazaletto, where, instead of finding the promised provisions, it was reduced almost to famine. Whilst he sojourned here, the cardinal learnt that Casal and Pontesture had received the provisional aid of which they had stood so much in need ; and he sent his final resolutions to the duke, to force him to declare himself. The prince of Piedmont came to the cardinal, to say that he accepted his offers on the part of his father ; but that not having settled his affairs with the Genoese, he intended to do so before entering into a fresh expedition, and that was the reason why his army would not at present join that of the French.

This reply gave the cardinal to understand that the *duke* was only seeking to gain time, and, at the same

time, that none should be allowed him. The French generals then decided upon declaring war against him, if he did not at once execute the treaty of Susa. They sent him word that the army had to pass through Piedmont, and that it was just, with reference to the treaty, that the duke should raze the fortifications he had built and garrisoned on their line of march during the last year: it was not consistent with prudence to leave such places behind them, whilst they were in the state of uncertainty as to what use the duke might put them. The duke only offered to withdraw a part of his troops from Veillano, but would not hear of destroying the fortifications of a place so far within his states. He likewise took possession of the principal passages of the river Doiro, as if to oppose the march of the royal army. The cardinal gave orders that all the fords of the river should be reconnoitred, recalled the vanguard, which was six leagues in advance, under Marshal de Crequi, and commanded the whole army to repair, in the night of the 19th of March, to the fording places, in order to be ready to pass at daybreak. The cardinal hoped to be able to surprise the duke or Savoy, who was at Rivoli, a country residence, and to invest that place before the duke could escape. The better to execute this plan, the cardinal sent a gentleman to the duke to tell him that the French army could not remain longer where it was without much inconvenience, and he begged him so to arrange that it might pass on without longer delay; otherwise, he said, he should be obliged to force a passage, and the army would provide for itself as well as it could. The duke, on his part, sent his son to demand the reason of the counter-march of the vanguard. The cardinal replied that, as he had never been made acquainted with the reasons for various movements of the duke of Savoy's troops, he did not conceive himself obliged to say why he had thought proper to bring back his vanguard closer to the main army.

The next day, the design we have mentioned was to be put into execution, and the duke would certainly have been taken, if he had not, by some means, obtained intelligence of the cardinal's intended unpleasant visit, and retreated, in the night, to Turin. The cardinal accused the Duke de Montmorenci of having warned the duke of Savoy; but as he did not do so till after his death, when it was Richelieu's object to load his memory with obloquy, we cannot attach much importance to the accusation. And here we cannot help expressing a wonder that three marshals, a military duke, and the officers of a large army should, in these important military expeditions, for the time, have submitted to be so imperiously led by a priest. We have seen an instance where mere vanity prevailed over wise counsel; there must have been innumerable occasions in which his ever busy humour and his ignorance of the art of war rendered him ridiculous to the men that surrounded him. Was it his indomitable character and his supreme influence with the king, or was it the power of his genius, which penetrated the strategies of war as easily as it unravelled the policies of courts, that secured him this implicit obedience? It is difficult to say: French writers do not instruct us, for they are partisans, either eulogising to the seventh heaven or denouncing to perdition this man who played so conspicuous a part in their annals. For our part, we think power and genius combined in producing this effect. He had made his power dreaded by the highest and the proudest; and his genius had so invariably borne him through difficulties and trials of all kinds, that even soldiers might think he could handle the sword as well as the crosier.

Pontis, an officer who was present in this expedition, says that the cardinal was clothed in a water-coloured cuirass, with a dress of light brown, embroidered slightly with gold. He had a feather round his hat; two pages walked before his horse, one of whom bore his gauntlets,

and the other his head armour; two other pages marched, one on each side of him, leading two valuable chargers; close behind him followed the captain of his guards. With these appointments he passed the river Doiro, on horseback, with a sword by his side, and two pistols at his saddle-bow; and when he had reached the other side, he made his horse curvet a hundred times before the army, boasting aloud of not being ignorant of horsemanship.

Puysegur, another officer, tells us that a heavy rain fell during the day, and that the soldiers, wet to the skin, according to their licentious manner of speaking, freely and aloud consigned the cardinal and his people to the devil. The cardinal hearing these imprecations, and seeing this officer near him, called to him, told him that the guards were very insolent, and asked him if he did not hear what they were saying? Puysegur replied that he did, but that it was the custom with soldiers when they suffered, and that they were equally loud in the praise of their general when they were at their ease. He likewise said he would tell them to be a little more circumspect, if he wished it. Can we not, in such a scene, imagine the soldier laughing in his sleeve whilst he made this promise to the pranked up churchman? On their arrival at Rivoli, the cardinal took up his quarters in the castle, in the middle of the town. The soldiers, who found abundance of provisions there, were soon consoled for the fatigues of the day; and the cardinal heard them, in the midst of their carousals, drinking vociferously *to the health of the great Cardinal de Richelieu!* The officer going afterwards to receive his orders from him, because the guards only receive theirs from the king when he commands in person, or from his representative when he is absent, the cardinal told him that the soldiers had greatly reformed their speech and manners, and there was no occasion to censure them.

The same day he sent Servien to Turin, to tell the duke

that the army had only come to Rivoli because it could no longer subsist where it was, and that this circumstance could not interrupt the good feeling of the cardinal, provided the duke responded to it. But the duke was so enraged at the trick that had been played him, that he would neither see Servien nor listen to any one who endeavoured to mollify his anger. Servien returned a second time, to speak to the princess of Piedmont, and the duke at length sent a gentleman to negotiate with the cardinal. But the prelate had determined to besiege Pignerol, which he heard was not in a high state of defence. On the 20th of March the place was invested by Crequi, who was detached with six thousand foot and a thousand horse. The better to deceive the duke, the cardinal caused it to be given out that he was going to Turin, and the commander of the artillery led it towards that place for more than a league, followed by the whole army, which made the duke believe that the cardinal really meant to attack his capital, and he promptly recalled some troops which he had commanded to throw themselves into Pignerol. Thereupon the cardinal recalled his van, and ordered back his artillery. The rear was commanded to half-face to the right, and all marched straight towards Pignerol. The army invested that place on every side on the 21st. The works proceeded with such diligence that the following day a battery of three pieces of cannon was in full play, which compelled the inhabitants, who might have held out at least a few days, to surrender. The cardinal entered the city, and at once commenced the attack upon the castle, into which the governor of the place, Count d'Escalange, had withdrawn with eight hundred men. At the same time the troops began to work at the lines of circumvallation, as it was feared they would be detained some time before the castle, it being built upon a rock, and appearing impregnable.

The mestre-de-camp had orders to build a fort upon

the mountain of St. Bridget, to impede succours that might arrive on that side. They attempted to undermine one of the bastions; but they found the rock so hard, that in three days they had not made a hole large enough to conceal half a man. The governor, however, who possessed very little knowledge of the military art, expected, every minute, that he and his garrison would be sent dancing into the air; and on Easter eve, very much to the surprise of the besiegers, he beat the chamade. The cardinal, who had received intelligence that the duke of Savoy was advancing to succour the place, sent Crequi immediately to grant the governor whatever terms he required, provided he would march out in four hours. But the devout governor said he could not go out before the next morning, because he was determined to communicate in the place before he surrendered it. All that they could get from him was, that he would leave early in the morning, and that he would give hostages. The cardinal, however, who expected every minute to have the duke of Savoy upon him, and that his arrival would infuse courage into the cowardly governor, grew dreadfully impatient, and, in the course of the night, had all the city clocks put forward more than an hour, in order to hasten the devotions of L'Escalange. As soon as day broke, the governor having, with most of his garrison, gone through the church ceremonies proper to Easter, marched out from the place. The garrison took the road to Turin, but the governor remained behind, to settle some affairs of his own. At about a league from Pignerol, these troops met the duke of Savoy coming to the succour of the city, and he was so enraged at their cowardice, that he ordered his cavalry to charge upon them. He would have done much better if he had, to prevent this misfortune, have placed a man acquainted with the art of war, and of spirit to carry it out, in Pignerol, instead of L'Escalange. France thus acquired a passage from Dauphiny into Piedmont, by

means of which she held the dukes of Savoy in a state of dependence, or, at least, prevented their taking up arms against her with impunity, up to the peace of Ryswick, in 1697, by which this place was razed and restored to Victor Amadeus, duke of Savoy.

The cardinal, who knew the importance of this city, immediately set about fortifying it regularly, and placed an efficient garrison in it. Although he had every reason to return as quickly as possible to Paris, he would not quit Pignerol before that place was put in a complete state of defence. When sending the news of his conquest to the king, he gave him the reasons which had induced him to break with the duke, and which principally consisted in that prince having shown no disposition to observe the treaty of Susa. If these reasons had been even less strong than they were, the taking of Pignerol, to which the crown had some ancient pretensions, would have given them great force; and the king did not fail to bestow warm approbation upon the conduct of his military minister.

The pope and the Venetians were not sorry that France had a passage into Italy, to keep Savoy to its duty, and to be a check upon the house of Austria; but they feared that the rupture with Savoy would delay the arms of France in Piedmont, and that, in the mean while, Casal and Mantua might fall into the hands of the Imperialists and the Spaniards. To prevent this, Cardinal Barberini, the legate, and the ambassadors from Venice, pressed the cardinal to come to an accommodation with Savoy; but this reconciliation was all the more difficult from the duke's insisting upon the restoration of Pignerol, and they feared that France would not consent to it.

With this purpose, the legate went to Pignerol to ascertain if the Cardinal de Richelieu were willing to restore that place. The cardinal told him, "that he had *no power to do so*, because the king could scarcely be

aware of its capture. Although he could not give either word or assurance that Pignerol should be restored, neither would he deny all hope of it; he would even use his influence to induce the king to restore it; and he believed that the intercession of the princess of Piedmont would have great weight, particularly if the restitution were asked, not in virtue of any convention, but as an effect of the king's generosity." The legate replied that, to facilitate the peace, France must give her word that Pignerol should be restored out of consideration for the princess of Piedmont. The cardinal replied, "that he had not the power to give this assurance; and although the king might entertain the idea, he did not think he had any right to give a promise beforehand, only being absolutely obliged to restore the place from generosity. But as soon as ever he learned the king's intention, he would not fail to communicate it to him." The legate then proposed a suspension of arms, to which the cardinal replied, "that if that would tend to the bringing about of a secure peace, which the legate had the power of knowing from the Spaniards and the duke of Savoy, he would willingly propose it to the council, and should not be indisposed to second it; but if that suspension was not made with a view to a definitive peace, it was useless to say anything about it." Being pressed several times to say what he thought of the restitution of Pignerol, he said "he did not think it was his majesty's intention to appropriate that place; but the king might deem it prudent to keep it till all the articles of the peace were entirely executed, because he otherwise would have no security for the performance of the treaty." Father Valerian, a Capuchin, made thereupon divers propositions; but the cardinal remained firm; and as it was known that the king was guided entirely by his counsels, they plainly perceived it would not be an easy matter to get Pignerol out of his hands.

Nothing, consequently, was done. Schomberg advanced at the beginning of April as far as Briqueras: but as Spinola, Collalte, and the duke of Savoy there opposed his passage, he did not dare to proceed further; so that the design of succouring the duke of Mantua, which had been the cardinal's ostensible object, and which was the cause of the royal army crossing the mountains, came to nothing, as soon as the French had found other means of repaying themselves.

The king, the queens, and the court, came to Lyons to be near the armies; and the cardinal informed his majesty he would join him as soon as he had placed Pignerol in a proper state of defence. Bassompierre succeeded in raising six thousand men in Switzerland; and it was determined to perfect the conquest of Savoy, as an indemnification for the advantages gained by the Imperialists and Spaniards in the states of the duke of Mantua.

On the 10th of May the king set out for Grenoble, where the cardinal arrived the preceding day. After rendering an account to the king of all that had taken place in Piedmont, the cardinal went to Lyons to pay his respects to the two queens. He behaved with so much moderation, that it was believed he had only gone on this expedition to gain an opportunity for a perfect reconciliation with the queen-mother. That princess received him with affability, and exhorted him earnestly to bring about a peace; which he expressed himself quite willing to do as soon as it could be effected with honour. He said there was no design formed against the house of Austria; the king only meant to punish the duke of Savoy for breaking his word, and by the same means to support the duke of Mantua.

The cardinal afterwards rejoined the king; and the dukedom of Savoy was speedily subdued by an army of twenty thousand men. Mazarin then appeared as a nuncio to negotiate for peace, and the cardinal offered to restore Pignerol,

but on such terms that there was no probability of the house of Austria listening to them.

The conquest of Savoy did not prove of much importance ; Spinola and Collalte continued to receive reinforcements of troops, and prepared to invade Mantua and Monferrat, which countries were in no state to oppose them. The whole French nation became tired of so many wars ; the new impositions for the support of the armies rendered the people very discontented, and there were disturbances of a serious kind at Lyons, notwithstanding the presence of the queens. The garrisons and troops in Savoy suffered severely from want of provisions ; and the brave Thoiras, shut up in Casal, was so destitute of money, that he was obliged to stamp a copper currency of nominal value, with a promise to redeem it as soon as the city should be relieved. If Austria had proposed moderate conditions at this conjuncture, peace might easily have been arranged. But the cardinal was the prophet of expediency ; his invariable maxim was to take advantage of the present, and he frequently changed and abandoned his most favourite designs, if, whilst in the execution of them, he met with anything equivalent.

He, however, sent Thoiras a supply of money, for fear the important fortress of Casal should fall into the hands of the Spaniards. About the same time, the pope conferred upon all cardinals the titles of *Eminence*, and *Most Eminent Lordship* ; which, it is said, not only gave great satisfaction to Richelieu, but that he had a principal hand in the invention of them.

The younger Spinola took Pontesture, very badly garrisoned by the French, with several other places ; so that the duke of Mantua had nothing left in Monferrat but Casal, bravely defended, but at great cost of men and money, by Thoiras against the marquis of Spinola himself, with a formidable army. The Germans, at the same time, proceeded with such vigour against the unfortunate duke

of Mantua, that they gained possession of his capital, and drove him to such extremity, that he was glad to save his person by taking refuge in the ecclesiastical states. He had been miserably seconded by his allies, the Venetians and the French; the latter, after all their boasting promises, had done nothing but defend Casal. The acquisition of Pignerol was a selfish affair, and had nothing to do with the common cause; the cardinal conceived the present advantage to be derived from that, as of much more importance than succouring Mantua.

He, however, kept up an understanding with the prince, who had begun to form the Protestant league in Germany in opposition to the greatness of the house of Austria. It was in the year 1630 that Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, passed into Pomerania; and the king of France having sent the Baron de Chainacé to him to propose a league between the two crowns, the cardinal took the opportunity of writing to him, and received a very obliging reply. This prince, by his victories, stopped the progress of the house of Austria in a more complete manner than all the treaties and intrigues of the cardinal had been able to effect. It is true it cost France five hundred thousand crowns a year, which she engaged to pay the king of Sweden; but perhaps that was her cheapest and easiest mode of opposing the general enemy.

The continued contest in Piedmont belongs rather to history than biography, when the cardinal, who is our subject, ceases to take a personal and active part in it. The duke of Savoy, Charles Emanuel, died, leaving the character of a prince of great intelligence and courage; but who was at the same time restless, ambitious, and cruel. He was succeeded by his son, Victor Amadeus, brother-in-law of the French king, and it was hoped that this affinity would bring about a national reconciliation, and that the new duke would recover back his states *rather from the generosity of the king than by force of*

arms. But this generosity was inconsistent with the policy of the cardinal; he felt that his position with regard to the queen-mother would come to a crisis, and that he must, at whatever cost to the country, continue to make himself necessary to his master. The French generals obtained some advantages from the temporary grief and consequent languor of the Savoyards, but the young duke renewed the contest with spirit. Still the French maintained the upper hand; but, notwithstanding a triumph over Victor Amadeus, they did not dare to march to Casal, for fear the great general, who was besieging it, might have been reinforced. But at Casal both parties were distressed: Thoiras was short of provisions and money, the siege had thinned his garrison wofully, and the inhabitants began to be tired of such a protracted conflict: on his side, Spinola was in constant dread of the approach of the French generals, as his army of fourteen thousand men was reduced to four thousand by disease and the circumstance of no quarter being given on either side. In this embarrassment, Mazarin, who performed the functions of the nuncio Pancirolo, after useless journeys and endeavours to bring the parties to agree to a peace, at length succeeded in inducing them to sign a treaty for a general truce, from the 4th of September to the 15th of October. Among other things, it was agreed that Spinola and Thoiras should leave the works for the attack and defence of Casal, in the state in which they were; that Spinola should allow the French to purchase provisions in his camp up to the end of October; that if peace was not concluded before the 15th, the French might attempt to succour the place; but if they did not succeed by the last day of the month, Thoiras was to surrender the citadel to Spinola. All the interested parties who were at a distance, and were consequently ignorant of the serious situation of both Spinola and Thoiras, blamed them greatly for this truce. Spinola,

unaccustomed to reprehension from any one, took the complaints of the duke of Savoy and the reproofs of the Count-duke Olivarez to heart; he performed his duties before Casal carelessly, fell sick from vexation, and died, with complaints upon his lips against the count-duke and the council of Spain, for having, after a faithful service of thirty-two years, doubted his fidelity, and placed more confidence in the young duke of Savoy than in him. This fault of Olivarez caused Casal to remain in the hands of the French, as will be seen hereafter; but it must be confessed that the cardinal, after having made the place appear to be of great importance, did not take much pains to preserve it: it was for the duke of Mantua, and not for France, and there was always something selfish in the policy of Richelieu.

A short time after this, Leon Brulart, assisted by Father Joseph, concluded the treaty at Ratisbonne with the ambassadors of the emperor, which we have mentioned in our notice of the celebrated Capuchin. In this treaty, after having regulated what the Duke de Nevers should give to the other pretenders to the succession of Mantua, the emperor promised him the investiture of his states, provided he asked it with due submission. When the news of this treaty was brought to the court, the cardinal affected to disapprove of it, and declared aloud that the ambassador had exceeded his orders. But very few people believed that an old minister, like Brulart, could commit such a fault, particularly as he was assisted by Father Joseph, to whom the cardinal confided his most secret thoughts, and who was no novice in diplomacy. It was rather supposed that the cardinal changed his mind as the face of affairs changed, and that he sometimes wished for peace and sometimes for war, accordingly as he thought the interests of France and his own power were, for the moment, affected by the one or the other.

We cannot afford room for the detail of these negotia-

tions; but it will not be void of interest to relate what Brulart thought of his coadjutor in this affair. When he returned from his embassy, he told several of his friends that the Capuchin had nothing of his order about him but the habit, and nothing even of the Christian but the name. His mind, he said, was full of artifices and tricks, and it was his constant endeavour and pleasure to deceive everybody. During the negotiations at Ratisbonne, he had never allowed him to partake of his counsels, and never communicated an affair to him till after it was concluded: his soul was full of obliquities, and he had nothing in view but to gain the esteem of the cardinal. Brulart likewise declared that that prelate had only found fault with him for exceeding his instructions, the better to conceal the orders he had really given. One day the cardinal invited the late ambassador to dine with him, and cards being produced after the repast, they played at "primero." It happened that a dispute arose about certain cards, which was referred to the company; and the company, for fear of offending the cardinal, decided in his favour. Brulart took up all the money that lay before him, and paid the cardinal thirteen hundred pistoles, which, by the decision, he had won; but, as he rose from the table, he could not refrain from saying, "*I see there are corsairs on land as well as at sea.*" As he was leaving the room afterwards, the cardinal came softly behind him, and putting his hand round the back of his neck, whispered in his ear: "Brulart is a handsome man; it would have been a pity to separate his head from his body, as there was just now a great chance of being done."

The particulars of the events that were now transacted in Piedmont, belong more to the biography of Mazarin than of Richelieu. The former made incredible, even romantic efforts to secure a peace, which was effected, broken, and effected again and again before it acquired anything like solidity.

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efforts to ruin him. The cardinal was made aware of all this, and begged St. Simon, grand ecuyer, who never stirred from the king's person, to induce his majesty to have some regard to his prime minister. The grand ecuyer spoke to the king of him, found his majesty perfectly well disposed towards him, and suggested the idea of recommending the cardinal to the protection of the Duke de Montmorenci, who, being governor of Languedoc, might easily save the prelate by taking him to his government. Louis approved of this expedient; St. Simon informed the cardinal of what had taken place, and he came to the bedside of the king, who told him he had been thinking about his safety. The cardinal, in tears, and feigning not to have known anything of the matter, replied that he should have no regret in dying after losing so good a master. In the mean time, the grand ecuyer having spoken to the Duke de Montmorenci on the part of the king, that nobleman undertook the task with pleasure, and promised to convey the cardinal to Brouage, with faithful troops that were pointed out to him. The king then sent for Montmorenci into his chamber, and with tears and in very strong terms recommended the cardinal to his good offices. The duke promised to escort him to Brouage, and to protect him against all. It is said that the cardinal applied to Marshal de Bassompierre to secure him the Swiss, in the event of the king's death, and that the marshal refused, saying, nevertheless, that the Marquis d'Alincourt, governor of Lyons, might contribute greatly to his safety, to which he might be persuaded by the Marquis de Châteauneuf, his cousin-german, a creature of the cardinal's. This refusal, and the attachment which Bassompierre entertained for the Princess de Conti, an enemy of the cardinal's, rendered him suspicious of the marshal, and he in the end avenged himself of him cruelly. The

king having recovered, left Lyons, followed by the queen-mother and the cardinal, who embarked upon the Loire, at Roanne, in the same boat, and appeared in the eyes of all the court perfectly reconciled. But the cardinal, who knew all that had passed, and to whom the king told all he had learnt, placed no confidence in this calm ; and if the queen-mother laboured to injure him in the mind of the king, he took no less pains to irritate her son against her. He persuaded this timid, jealous prince that the queen-mother preferred the duke of Orleans to him, and that she had consulted astrologers for the purpose of learning when that prince would ascend the throne ; as, there being no dauphin, the crown would fall to him at the king's death. This was not entirely without foundation, and the king being convinced of it, believed that whatever the queen did had reference to it, and nothing could persuade him to the contrary. All the queens could say against the cardinal made no impression on his mind, because it was as difficult and as incredible that that prelate should undertake anything against him, as it was easy for the queen-mother and Monsieur to do it ; and it was rendered credible they had an inclination to do so, by the remembrance of past disturbances.

On the arrival of the court at Paris, the king went to St. Germain and to Versailles, then his favourite hunting-lodge, and the queen-mother to her palace of the Luxembourg. It was there that her hatred against the cardinal broke out afresh, although the king did everything in his power to reconcile them ; and even went to lodge at the Hôtel des Ambassadeurs, in order to be near to his mother, and to speak to her more frequently.

At length he extorted a promise from her, that she would live on good terms with the cardinal ; and to complete the reconciliation, it was agreed that the king should bring the cardinal, and his niece De Combalet, on the 11th of November, at eleven o'clock in the morning, into the

queen's chamber, in order that she might evince that she entertained no malice towards them. The queen desired that the niece should enter first; but when she went to throw herself at the feet of her majesty, to thank her for the favour she had granted her, the queen, instead of pardoning her, began to load her with abuse, before the king; and Combalet left her, bathed in tears, at the unexpected treatment she had met with. The king did all in his power to appease his mother, whose transports of rage, he said, gave him great pain. But, in the hopes that she had exhausted her passion, and would behave more kindly to the cardinal, he went to fetch him.

The cardinal, who was in a neighbouring apartment, saw by the countenance of his niece, as she passed through, that she had not met with a pleasant reception, and was confirmed in his suspicion on entering the closet of the queen, to find anger and vexation depicted on her countenance. As soon as he approached her, she launched out into all kinds of invectives; she said he was a villain,—an ungrateful, malignant man,—the wretched disturber of the public peace; and turning to the king, she added, “There stands the man who would willingly deprive you of your crown, to place it on the head of the Count de Soissons, who is to marry his niece, La Combalet.” Upon this the king interposed, and said the cardinal was a man of worth and honour, who served him faithfully, and with whom he was well satisfied. He told her that she afflicted him very much; that she gave him great pain; and that he could not express the extreme displeasure he felt at her conduct. He added everything he could think of to soften her; but the queen's passion continuing to rise with the persuasions he employed to appease it, he told the cardinal to withdraw; and Richelieu retired with a conviction that the authority of the queen would prevail, and that he should be compelled to leave the court. The king remained some time with his mother, and gave her

to understand that he was shocked at the violence of her behaviour, and was surprised she should allow her passion to govern her so fearfully. The queen, however, was not appeased by all he said, but dismissed from her service both La Combalet, her tire-woman, and the Marquis de la Meilleraye, the captain of her guards, because they were relations of the cardinal.

At length the king, extremely angry that his mother should not only break her word with him, but treat him with great disrespect, left the apartment, saying, she had tried his patience too severely. He asked St. Simon, who had been present, what he thought of all this, and the favourite replied, he had fancied himself to be in another world, but that, certainly, his majesty was master. “ *Yes, I am master, exclaimed the king, and I will let the world see that I am !* ” In fact, he very soon after acted more like a master than a son ; and it might be, and indeed was said, that he seemed to consider his obligations to the cardinal infinitely superior to the natural duties he owed to his parent.

St. Simon contrived to inform the cardinal he had nothing to fear, and accompanied the king to the Hôtel des Ambassadeurs, where that prince, shutting himself up with his favourite, commanded that he should be denied to everybody. Having unbuttoned his doublet, he threw himself upon the bed, and told St. Simon he felt as if he were on fire : his mother, he said, by her indomitable obstinacy, and the shameful manner in which she had treated the cardinal, in his presence, and against the promise she had given him, had so disconcerted him, that he could find rest nowhere. She wanted to deprive him of a minister of extraordinary capacity, and who was of the greatest service to him, in order to put in his place people who were unworthy of it, and quite incapable of its duties ; but when she had conceived bad impressions, she was not susceptible of reason. He afterwards asked St. Simon

what he thought he ought to do on this occasion, and St. Simon replied that he was sure his majesty, for his own interest, would protect the cardinal against the cabal of those who envied him his post ; and that he would remove from the queen's person those who filled her mind with these evil impressions, and opposed all the good designs of the prime minister. The king then formed the resolution of going immediately to Versailles, and sending for the cardinal, to devise the best measures to be pursued.

The prelate, in the mean time, had returned to his palace, and immediately commenced packing up all his papers and portable costly furniture, in order to retire to Brouage, of which place he was governor. The Cardinal de la Valette, who came to see him, said everything in his power to dissuade him from this purpose, and at length succeeded in preventing his immediate departure. Whilst they were together, the gentleman came with the very encouraging message from St. Simon, and the cardinal determined to await the issue. Shortly after, he received a second notice, as favourable as the first. The Cardinal de la Valette, going to pay his respects to the king, learnt the same thing from St. Simon, and the king said to him:—“ *Monsieur le Cardinal has a good and kind master ; go and tell him I desire to be commended to him, and bid him come to Versailles without delay.*”

In the mean while, the queen-mother, who felt assured that the cardinal would be dismissed, out of complaisance for her, was filled with delight at the idea of the authority she was about to enjoy, and already imagined herself the dispenser of all the benefits of which the cardinal had been the arbiter for several years. Everybody was eager to pay court to her ; and instead of following the king to Versailles, to prevent his forming any resolution that might prove injurious to her, she amused herself in receiving congratulations upon a thing that was by no means accomplished. The king was informed of the concourse

of courtiers that was repairing to the Luxembourg, to felicitate the queen-mother upon her having ruined the cardinal, which only served to strengthen the suspicion he had for some time formed,—that the queen-mother's purpose was to reign independently. Our readers will observe that in one thing, king, queen, cardinal, and courtiers were all agreed,—the poor weak king was incapable of reigning by himself. His son was not so old as he was, when he firmly seized the reins that fell from the hands of a deceased minister, and proudly told his courtiers he was from that time his own master. Some were fortunate in this conjuncture. St. Simon appears to have had all the qualities for his post : he gave Marshals Bassompierre and Crequi, and the Duke de Montmorenci, a hint not to be forward in offering their worship to the star that was said to be rising ; that of the cardinal was not yet set. Still the number of credulous courtiers was so great, that that day was ever after known as *la journée des Dupes*,—the day of the dupes, because the enemies of the cardinal were all made dupes.

The king having arrived at Versailles, the cardinal very quickly joined him, and throwing himself at his feet, thanked him as *the best, the most constant, and the most indulgent master that ever the sun had shone upon*. The king replied, that he knew he had in him a good servant, of so great a capacity and of such extraordinary fidelity, that he thought it his duty to protect him ; so much the more for its being an evidence of the respect and gratitude he ought to entertain for the queen his mother. If he had conducted himself otherwise, he would have abandoned him. He had determined to protect him against the cabal which was united for his destruction, by abusing the goodness and warm feelings of the queen his mother. He should continue, he added, to serve him, and he would support him against all who had conspired for his ruin. *The cardinal*, who was never at a loss for tears when

he wanted them, threw himself again, weeping, at the feet of the king, and began by saying,—“ He could not accept the honour of remaining near his majesty, for fear of being the occasion of a scandalous division between a son and his mother. He would seek some solitude, where he could conceal himself, and where he could weep over, for the rest of his days, the misfortune of having appeared to be an ingrate towards his benefactress.” After saying this, he kissed the king’s feet, and rose. The king positively commanded him to remain in his service, exactly as he had done : it was his will, he said, and he would be obeyed. The cardinal still urged the same reasons for his departure ; but the king told him it was not the queen, but such and such persons, whom he named, who were the originators of this disturbance ; he would not forget them, and they should feel he did not. He repeated that he would protect him against all, that he would be obeyed, and that the world should be made acquainted with the cause of these broils.

After this, the king dismissed all that were present, except St. Simon and the Cardinal de la Valette, sent for Bullion and Bouthillier, and resolved to give the seals immediately to Châteauneuf. Orders had been given to Marillac, who held them, to come to Glatigny, near Versailles ; and he fed himself with the fancy that this was a mark of the king’s confidence, until the morrow, when La Ville-aux-Clercs came, on the part of the king, to demand the seals of him, and he was taken to prison at Châteaudun. It was soon known in Paris what had transpired at Versailles ; and the queen-mother, who only the day before was surrounded by flattering courtiers, found herself alone, in neglected solitude, in her palace of the Luxembourg.

The cardinal, perfectly reassured with regard to his position with the king, set about his revenge upon those who had meditated his ruin, with all the vindictiveness of *his nature*. The two brothers De Marillac were the first,

and the keeper of the seals being already in prison, there only remained the marshal, who was with the army in Italy. A courier was despatched to Marshal Schomberg, to arrest him and send him prisoner to France; which was executed the day the courier arrived, without creating any sensation in the army.

The greatest enemies the cardinal had about the queen's person were the Princess de Conti and the Duchesses d'Ornano and d'Elbœuf. They were perfectly unanimous in the hatred they bore him, and in the pains they took to make him odious to the queen-mother. One of them, at least, was always with her, so that no opportunity was lost to exasperate her against the minister, and to render a reconciliation with his benefactress improbable. The Duchess d'Elbœuf was irritated against him on account of his long persecution of the house of Vincôme; and the two others, on account of the injury he did the duke of Guise, by wishing to deprive him of the post of admiral of the Levant, which he held in his quality of governor of Provence. The cardinal pretended that the office belonged to him as master of the navigation and commerce of France; and the duke offered to exchange with him for any other employ, or even to make him a present of it, but would not cede it to him as a matter of right. On the contrary, the cardinal would neither exchange for it nor accept it, but insisted upon his just claim to it.

The queen-mother, after her violent outbreak of the day of St. Martin, not only refused to allow the cardinal to interfere in her private affairs, but would not meet him at the council. At length, however, by the persuasion of Cardinal Bagni, she consented to see him at the first council that should be held, provided it was in the apartments of the queen-regnant. She likewise insisted upon the brothers Marillac being set at liberty, that the king should promise not to allow Monsieur to marry the princess of Mantua without her consent, and that no excep-

tions should be taken against either her servants or those of the duke of Orleans. When closely pressed, she at length consented to be present at a council with the cardinal in her own palace, in presence of the king, the Cardinal Bagni, and Father Suffren ; but she received him with the greatest coolness.

Three days after, which was St. Stephen's day, when it is customary to expect enemies to become reconciled, the queen-mother sent Father Suffren to the cardinal. He waited upon her, and as soon as she saw him she began to weep, and he drawing upon his ready stock of tears, did the same. She desired him to be seated, but the cardinal refused, saying that honour was unfit for a disgraced person. The queen, when speaking of what had passed, said it had never been her intention to deprive him of the ministry ; but the cardinal, who had, at first, affected humility, replied that she had nevertheless said, that either he or she must leave the court. Father Suffren then interposed, by observing, "that had been spoken in a moment of anger ;" but the cardinal continued, by saying, "he would rather die than do anything prejudicial to her majesty, but that he was grieved to have been condemned without being convicted ; and if that respect was due to everybody, surely it was due to a person who, he could say without vanity, might pride himself upon having served the state on very important occasions. He was quite prepared to justify himself ; and if it were proved he had ever been wanting in respect for her, he desired no favour ; but if his innocence were established, he required her to do him the honour to acknowledge it. Although earnest in his desire to recover her good graces, he ventured to tell her, that having served her fourteen years, he knew her disposition too well to be able to hope for it : and yet he would never omit an opportunity of proving his devotion to her service."

The queen said he had lent her no assistance in the

affair of the marriage of Monsieur ; and the cardinal protested that, on the contrary, he had supported her wishes with the king as warmly as possible. At length the queen, after having said several other things, concluded by observing that her future conduct would be governed by his ; she should behave towards him as he behaved towards her. The cardinal, as if out of respect, replied, "that there was no proportion between servants and masters ; and that as for himself, he should never fail in his duty towards her, and would neglect nothing that could contribute to her satisfaction."

After this interview, the queen-mother met the cardinal two or three times at council, but being thoroughly acquainted with his vindictive disposition, she ceased to attend, and absolutely refused to see him, for fear of offending the few friends who had declared themselves for her, against the minister.

Monsieur had again appeared at court, and, of course, soon was engaged in the cabals that were going on. He pretended to be reconciled to the cardinal, but would not at first see him. The king, however, insisted upon his meeting him, and he did so, with the consent of his mother, who hoped, by dissembling, he might the more effectually succeed in ruining the minister. The duke, like all weak characters in high places, was never without favourites, his present ones being Puylaurens and Coigneux. These men, to forward their own purposes, persuaded the duke to promise to depend entirely on the king's kindness ; they even induced him to promise his protection to the cardinal on all occasions, particularly in connection with his mother.

These adventurers at length becoming dissatisfied, prevailed upon the duke, with whom their wishes were laws, to return to the party of the queen-mother ; but finding the minister thought them unworthy of notice of any *kind*, they endeavoured to persuade the duke to leave the

court, thinking that he and they, by such a proceeding, would the more readily gain all they wished. The prince, however, agreed with his mother that she had better remain at court, to support his interests, whilst he would be busy caballing in some of the provinces. She even made over to him the very valuable jewels she had inherited from her husband, and of which she stood in such real need at a later period.

Having formed this resolution, he waited upon the cardinal at his hotel in Paris, and told him that he had been persuaded his eminence would serve him when occasion presented itself; but finding he did not keep his promise, he came for the purpose of withdrawing his own, of giving him his protection. The cardinal asked him in what he had been wanting in fulfilling his word. The prince replied, that he had done nothing in favour of the duke of Lorraine, and that it was very evident he had abandoned the interests of the queen-mother. He added that he was about to retire to his own appanage, and that if he were annoyed, he knew how to defend himself. Getting into his carriage, he set off at once for Orleans, whilst the cardinal went to inform the king of what had passed.

The retirement of the duke appeared strange to everybody, because he was not ill-treated at court; and the king was very angry with the queen-mother for having consented to this extravagant step, although she strongly denied it. The cardinal was accustomed to say, "he had three masters, the king, the queen-mother, and the duke of Orleans, all of whom he wished to serve; but each in their rank, it being unjust that the last should pass before the first." He protested to be always disposed to serve the queen-mother; and as it was generally believed that the misunderstanding between them was the cause of the misconduct of Monsieur, the king became so exceedingly anxious to reconcile them, that his mother appeared to

yield to his entreaties. She desired her physician to inform Marshal Schomberg of her intention ; but she insisted upon not being forced to take back into her service any of the persons she had dismissed ; to which the cardinal readily consented.

And now the cardinal began to set seriously about one of the blackest actions of his life. He could not enjoy divided power ; whilst he was an unnoticed man, and the queen was at the helm of the state, it had been all very well to profess himself the humble servant of her who could exalt his destiny ; but he had brought the mind of the king into such a state of subjection that he felt there was no obstacle to his obtaining paramount authority, but the pride and will of his benefactress. Both Mary de Medici and Richelieu knew that Louis was incapable of reigning alone ; Mary wished to retain the power she had enjoyed during her son's minority, and Richelieu was determined to wrest it from her : Mary's object was what she thought nature and habitual exercise of authority entitled her to ; Richelieu's was ambition, to gratify which, he did not hesitate ungratefully to sacrifice her who had assisted him so far on the road to his wishes. From this period his conduct towards her is a tissue of malignant cunning and cruelty ; he seemed to think it a life-and-death struggle between them, and that every method was justifiable which could lead to the discomfiture of his adversary. We will offer no comment upon the melancholy termination of the conflict, till we come to it in the course of our narrative.

The cardinal advised the king to go to Compiègne, and to try to persuade his mother to follow him thither, because Paris was not a place in which they could reduce her by authority to do what they wished. That princess was very much beloved in the capital, and the cardinal was equally hated there ; so that that was not a place in which *he could safely come to extremities with her.* The queen,

who had not the least idea of the cardinal's design, soon became anxious, on many accounts, to be with her son, and followed him to Compiègne. On her arrival, Marshal Schomberg was commissioned to inform her by means of her confidential attendant, that the king desired nothing more than to live upon the same terms with his mother as formerly, but, in order to do so, she must be reconciled to the cardinal, and take her place in the council, as she had done before these differences. She was also given to understand, that she must give the king a written promise not to engage in anything likely to disturb the peace of the state, and never to protect persons whom the king should think culpable, except, nevertheless, her own personal attendants. She expressed her willingness to do all that was required of her, to promote a good understanding, but she would not sit in council with the cardinal, nor would she sign the proposed promise. The king then sent Schomberg and Châteauneuf to her personally, to make her the same offers ; but she would not consent to them, notwithstanding their urgent representations.

The king thereupon summoned a close council, to ascertain what would be best to be done in this conjuncture. The cardinal, who was well assured that nothing would be resolved upon that he did not wish, or had not, indeed, suggested to the councillors, who were all dependent upon his will, affected at first, from a modesty which he very well knew how to assume, when he felt pretty certain of his object, that he was unable to say what he really thought upon the subject, because it was a matter in which he was personally interested. But the king having positively commanded him, in his character of minister and councillor, to give his opinion, he said, "that the emperor, the kings of Spain and England, and the duke of Savoy, not being on terms of friendship with France, made it their great object to disturb the tranquillity and

prosperity of that country, either by open wars or secret intrigues ; by which intrigues it was made evident that the two queens and the duke of Orleans were discontented, and united in showing that they were so. The parliaments, the nobles, and the people, took advantage of these circumstances, to endeavour to weaken the royal authority. Court cabals, women, and the English had, but recently, put all France in a blaze ; but the present faction was much stronger, because the rank of the women was more exalted, and their number greater ; Spain too, was in a better state to act, and England had not failed to interfere, since they were in possession of certain proofs that she had furnished the malcontents with money. The duke of Lorraine, likewise, was of the cabal, since he had done everything in his power to prevent the ratification of the treaty of Ratisbonne. The house of Guise and the parliaments worked upon the same foundation, and constantly endeavoured to incite the people to fresh disturbances. Biscaras, who had married a niece of the Marillacs, and was governor of Verdun, had refused to place that city in the hands of his majesty, hoping, by that insolence, to obtain the release of the marshal. And all this has been done because the queen-mother is dissatisfied, and keeps up a cabal in the court."

The cardinal added, " that whilst foreigners were able to maintain a faction in the court, and should see the duke of Orleans absent himself from it till he found a favourable opportunity for doing as he wished, they had it in their power to thwart all the designs of the crown, and would keep up the cabals which were formed in any part of the kingdom ; thus peace with foreigners would become impossible, and concord at home was not to be looked for, because foreign war fomented internal discords. There was nobody but the king that could find a remedy for all this, and select the person that could cure the evil. He *felt assured that the whole of the queen-mother's thoughts*

were bent upon his, the cardinal's, destruction, and that she would never overcome or get rid of that passion: the duke of Orleans likewise, whilst he considers the queen-mother likely to succeed, will unite his endeavours with hers. As long as matters at home were in this state, it was impossible to put an end to foreign difficulties, or to provide for the necessities of his majesty's government. Fresh malcontents would be formed every day, and even those most interested in the service of the king would put forth extravagant pretensions. By concealing or evading it, the evil would become so great, that it would be incurable: during the least indisposition of his majesty, the malcontents might render themselves masters of the person of the king and the authority of the state, without the best and most faithful servants of the crown having any recompense, or confidence of security, on account of the worship that would be offered to the rising sun. The same thing might happen in consequence of the first instance of ill-success in any of his majesty's designs, since it would not fail to be imputed to those who had made every effort to prevent it. In such circumstances the faithful servants of the king would be at the mercy of women, whose anger is known to be implacable. Le Coigneux was not a man to keep within the bounds of moderation, and was one who would never believe himself safe whilst any one in the interests of the first minister were left alive."

The artful minister, after having awakened the fears of the king in this manner, continued by saying: "If, on the contrary, a speedy end were put to these court disturbances by the means which might appear most salutary to his majesty, the ill-will of the malcontents would at once be deprived of effect, and, with time, they might be brought to reason. Weak remedies only irritate great evils, but strong ones either cure or remove them; and to apply these, it was not necessary to have recourse to either fire or sword. In the present conjuncture they must

either make peace with foreigners, or conciliate the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans : either he, the cardinal, must be dismissed from his office, or the persons who suggested thoughts contrary to the welfare of the state must be removed from the person of the queen ; her majesty must likewise be requested to absent herself for some time from the court, lest her presence should maintain the evil, even without her wish ; Monsieur being absent whilst she remained dissatisfied at court, it would be almost impossible to put an end to the cabals."

The cardinal having proposed these expedients, as if to give the king a choice of the person he should find most fit, continued : " As for peace with foreigners, it was not to be hoped for whilst these internal divisions lasted, of which they would not fail to take advantage ; besides which, it would be necessary to conclude it instantly, and that could not be done without shamefully abandoning the interests of the allies of the state, which would not be a remedy, but another evil ; not a solid peace, but the commencement of a fresh war." According to him, likewise, it was impossible to come to an understanding with Monsieur, " because they who were masters of his mind were altogether insatiable, and would never be contented till they were absolute masters." The cardinal exaggerated their ill-conduct ; and then, coming to the queen, said : " It was equally impossible to expect reconciliation with her, women being naturally vindictive ; and the queen not only dissimulative, but of a country and family that rarely pardoned. The services he, the cardinal, had rendered the king and the state would have no influence to prevent that princess from proceeding to extremities against him. The prayers of the king had proved useless ; she had never kept the promises she had frequently made him to live on good terms with his minister, and she never would keep those she might make for the future. She would

never be satisfied till she had ruined the persons she hated; and it was to be feared that the effects of her vengeance might go further than she herself would wish."

It then only remained for the cardinal to examine if it would be most advantageous for the king to withdraw himself, in order to live in peace with his mother, his wife, and his brother, who almost equally hated his minister, or to banish the queen-mother, and the persons who fomented her discontent. He said: "If her banishment was a remedy for the evils of the court, it must be put in practice without hesitation; and, for his part, he desired it ardently. It was true there were many things to be considered; for instance, would the minds of the malcontents be set at rest by banishment alone, or would they not endeavour to destroy those they left behind, and him who had retired, to render themselves masters of royal authority? Thus, this remedy must not be applied unless it would cure the evil complained of, without producing one much greater."

He supposed that it was visible that this remedy would be worse than the evil, and that it would be followed by the misfortunes he had just described. In fact, in the disposition in which the king was, totally incapable of making himself feared on his own account, if the queen-mother had returned, without any minister daring to oppose her will, she would have governed more absolutely than ever, and would have abandoned herself entirely to her vengeance, to prevent the designs of those to whom her new authority might be disagreeable. Therefore the cardinal proposed "to dissipate the cabals which the authority and the discontent of the queen-mother kept up in the court, by begging her to remove to a distance from it and Paris, and by dismissing all her evil counsellors." He said, nevertheless, "this resolution must be executed with much mildness, and the queen must be treated as

respectfully as possible. Measures must be taken to surmount all the obstacles which persons of high consideration might oppose to it ; because, to commence such an affair without carrying it through, would be much worse than if it had never been attempted. There was no doubt the kingdom would think the remedy a violent one, because few people were aware of how many and great evils the state would be freed from by it. All would be attributed to the first minister ; but that was an inconvenience only to be despised, as the surgeon who amputates an arm pays little attention to the loss of blood that may ensue. If he only thought of himself, he never should have resolved to propose this expedient, because everybody would believe that revenge was his only motive, whilst he was really actuated by a desire for the good of the state ; and a thousand satires would be written against him. If he only considered his own person, he should prefer the risk of perishing without being slandered, to placing himself in security by drawing upon himself the censure of the whole kingdom ; but if the welfare of the state, and the preservation of the king's authority and person, required it to be thus, he would devote himself to whatever his majesty and his council might think proper."

He finished this artful harangue by requesting permission of the king to resign his ministry, in case his majesty should adopt his advice ; " because," he said, " the cabal being dispersed, the other ministers would be in a condition to serve him as before, without having anything to fear." He further added, " that the mind of the queen-mother would be the sooner calmed from finding herself no longer able to do mischief ; and that they who incited her being kept away from her, would think seriously of reconciling themselves with the court. That foreigners, being no longer able to take advantage of domestic discords, would be anxious for peace for their own interest.

In a short time, all his majesty's affairs would resume their ordinary train, and terminate happily ; but without that there would be great risk of their going ill : and if they did go ill, he should be very sorry not to have discharged his conscience by discovering the veritable cause. In short, justice was manifestly on the side of the king, and he would have the approbation of the public as long as his measures succeeded ; but that could not possibly continue to be the case, if the roots of all the factions were not boldly eradicated."

All the council applauded the minister, and assured the king that his advice was the only one he could follow. There was but one thing in which they did not agree with the cardinal, and that was his resignation, which they considered not as an innocent means of appeasing the public mind, but as a dangerous and impracticable remedy. As regarded the banishment of the queen-mother, the council would not venture to express their opinion ; reserving to themselves the glory only of obeying his majesty, as soon as he should have made up his mind on the subject.

The king adopted, without hesitation, the plan of banishing his mother from the court ; and he resolved to leave her at Compiègne, under a good guard, after having once more offered her, by Father Suffren, that which she had so often refused. She did not fail to reject it again, being as obstinate as ever ; and, on the 23rd of February, the court left early in the morning without any communication to the queen. The king left at Compiègne Marshal d'Estrées, with eight companies of his guards, fifty men-at-arms, and fifty light horse, giving him orders to keep guard at the gates of the castle and of the city, with as many soldiers as he should think necessary ; to require the Princess de Conti to depart for Eu, in Normandy, without permitting her to see the queen, or to pass through Paris ; and if the queen-mother wished

to follow the court, or go elsewhere, to tell her he had express orders from the king to beg her to wait till she knew his pleasure on the subject.

As soon as she knew that the court was gone without her, and that she was surrounded by guards, the queen broke out into violent invectives against the cardinal; but as there was no remedy, she was obliged to have patience. She wrote several times to the king to justify herself, and to complain; but the king, beset by the cardinal and his creatures, did not allow himself to be touched by anything she urged. The cardinal wished to make her leave Compiègne, which he thought to be too near Paris, and to send her to Moulins in the Bourbonnois, or to Angers; and she was even offered the government of either of these provinces. But she positively refused, and raised a thousand objections, which he tried in vain to remove; because, the more earnest he was to make her change her abode, the more firm she became in her resolution to remain at Compiègne. In the mean time, she was treated with much external respect, and was allowed to walk and ride freely. The soldiers even were removed to the outside of the city, in order that she might not be reminded, by the sight of them, that she was a prisoner; but the avenues to it were all well guarded, for fear she should escape.

There is one circumstance that strikes us forcibly on coming to this conclusion of one of the great events of Richelieu's life; and that is, the readiness with which the king gave his consent to the banishment of his mother. Hers was a strong, dominating mind; his was an imbecile, timid one: she had, perhaps, abused her natural position, by governing him too completely during his youth; and made the mistake of thinking she ought to govern him when he became a man. But habit, her rank, affection, his weakness, and her energy, had all conspired to make *her* deeply respected, and even feared by him. Till this

period, although occasionally, as during her imprisonment at Blois, showing symptoms of a desire for independence, all harshness or disrespect came from her enemies, his favourites, and not from him. But from this great event, he seems to have been heartless and heedless on her account: it is almost impossible to think that mere respect for his and her royal rank did not prevent his leaving her in a state of destitution at last. The cardinal's conduct may be easily understood. From the time of Chalais' execution, he seems to have been like a hound that has lapped blood, and becomes ever after insatiable of it. For all who crossed his path, exalted or lowly, from that time, there was no mercy; it was out of no consideration for his benefactress that she did not share the fate of Chalais, Marillac, Montmorenci, Cinq Mars, and De Thou. Some historians of the time give a reason for this abnegation of maternal affection in Louis, to which, after an earnest examination of it, we cannot yield faith. The murder of Henry IV. of France, like that of Darnley, and a few other mysterious events in the world's history, seems destined to remain a vexed question. Ravailiac either did or did not, in the course of his tortures, reveal the names of any accomplices in the detestable act: some say he did, but more that he did not. They who say he did, assert that the parties most interested in concealment presided over his examinations and trials, and that among them were the queen and her favourite D'Epernon. It is stated that a constant state of well-founded jealousy and a desire for power induced the queen to be an accessory in the assassination, and that D'Epernon, if he did not use the knife, was aware that it would be used, and, when in the carriage with the king, afforded the murderer facilities for executing his purpose. If we were to embark upon this question, readers who have perhaps never heard of it, or thought of it deeply, cannot imagine the extent of it: there is matter in existence to enable us to write volumes upon it. But

we can only reiterate that we have examined it, and that our conviction is, with regard to the queen, and, perhaps, D'Epernon, that there is no foundation for the accusation. Henry IV. and his wife certainly did not live on the best terms; and the fault was more his than hers. He was never easy till she had so far humbled herself as to allow a haughty, accepted mistress, whose relations as well as herself had entertained hopes of royalty, to live in the same palace with her, and share her honours and her husband's attentions. And when this mistress was gone, it was a galling thing for a young woman to be told by her elderly husband of more than fifty, that another rival was coming to reign over her, at least, in his affections. "The Princess de Condé will be here in less than a week, madam!" said the ever-amorous monarch, with undisguised delight. But the history of Mary de Medici does not reveal the character of a woman likely to be so affected by jealousy as to lead her to murder. She was very unlike Henry's first wife, Marguerite de Valois: if she was an ambitious woman, she was not the slave of sexual passions. We cannot find a spot in that part of her character. In addition to this internal evidence, we may add that there is nothing beyond surmise to fix the crime upon her. She was hasty, violent, passionate, we admit; but such are not the natures that are bloodthirsty. She hated the cardinal, and would have hurled him from power, but we do not believe that she would have shed even his blood. It is said, then, that the young king was kept in ignorance of this report, and that Richelieu imparted it to him, at this period; as a fact, in order to create in him an abhorrence for his mother as the murderer of his father. We have no means of ascertaining the truth of this: Richelieu was quite capable of employing such means; but we do not think the story necessary, in order to account for the king's conduct. Louis had become the slave to the genius of the cardinal, and from that moral degradation naturally ensued an increased love of

self and a perfect apathy as to the happiness of others. So long as he was left in the enjoyment of his coarse-minded amusements, and had an humble favourite to caress and fondle, he cared for neither natural affections nor duties. The cardinal's empire over himself and his kingdom secured him quiet, and rendered labour and anxiety unnecessary : it may be easily imagined that such a state of mind would obliterate his sense of duty to his mother, without its being necessary to stain her with an imputation of murder. His conduct to the beautiful Anne of Austria, his wife, was governed by the same selfish, cold-blooded apathy. Though himself insensible, by constitution, to the power of love, jealousy was almost the only strong passion to which he was keenly alive ; which is in complete keeping with the rest of his character. *This* was the fulcrum the cardinal used with respect to Mary de Medici ; although incompetent to exercise power, Louis was meanly jealous of it : Richelieu taught him that his mother not only wanted to reign, but to let the world see that she reigned ; whereas the cardinal was satisfied with reigning more despotically than Mary could have done, in the name of the king, whom he made responsible for even his worst acts of cruelty : Louis preferred, wisely, as he thought, the shadow of power to no power at all, and the cardinal's Machiavelian policy was triumphant over Mary's bold and open violence. In the period she stood in need of friends, Mary had not one capable of contending with her enemy on any point. Gaston, her natural ally, was the worst enemy any cause could have, into which he entered as a friend. His position made him formidable to the cardinal ; as a man, he must have despised him. The cold, selfish, haughty D'Epernon was past service ; Condé, from his known love of money, was always to be bought ; the Marillacs were sacrificed, so was the gallant Montmorenci ; the game was all in Richelieu's hands, and he was not the man to spare his antagonist.

The duchesses d'Ornano and d'Elbœuf received instant orders to depart from court, and Marshal Bassompierre, without being accused of anything but a warm attachment to the Princess de Conti, was sent to the Bastille, where he remained up to the period of the cardinal's death. Bassompierre's real offence was having refused Richelieu the protection of the Swiss on the day of the Dupes. And yet this sufficient excuse was not the only thing that made Bassompierre hateful to Richelieu. The marshal's nature was entirely opposite to his. A good soldier, an able diplomatist, a man of education, Bassompierre possessed in addition a fund of *bonhomie*, and cheerful, conversational wit, which made him acceptable to the king. A taste for such a companion as the marshal might have had an effect upon Louis' character, and have engendered liberal views; whereas it was the cardinal's policy to feed and cherish all the dark, sullen propensities of the king's disposition. Vautier, the queen-mother's physician, who had been one of the cardinal's principal enemies, was also sent to the Bastille, notwithstanding the queen's earnest entreaty for his professional attendance. She was told she might command his services, but only on condition that she would retire to Moulins. We are constantly reminded of Louis' exclamation on the death of the cardinal: "There is a great politician dead;" most of Richelieu's actions may be defended on the plea of policy, scarcely one of them on the score of humanity. What could be more paltry than this refusal of the attendance of her physician, unless she complied with his politic wish? We should remember she was a queen, the mother of a king, and had reigned as a regent; and she was required to bow to the will of her own creature.

The duke of Orleans, who had begun to make some preparations for taking up arms, and holding the city of Orleans by force, finding the king was approaching before *he was prepared*, left it suddenly in the month of March,

and went into Burgundy. From thence he retreated to Bezançon, in Franche-Comté, and the king, who followed his steps, published a declaration at Dijon, by which he denounced the Count de Moret, one of Henry the Fourth's numerous natural children, the dukes d'Elbœuf, de Rouannés, and de Bellegarde, Coigneux, Puylaurens, and all who were with him, as guilty of high treason. The king afterwards sent this declaration, which he had had verified in the parliament of Dijon, to the parliament of Paris ; but the latter made a difficulty of confirming it without deliberation, as the king wished, and founded their hesitation upon the following reasons :—In the first place, this declaration had been addressed to another parliament than that of Paris, which alone was the court of peers, and the first parliament in the kingdom. Secondly, it by name declared a president guilty, who would thus be condemned by the company without being heard. Thirdly, this declaration might cast a reflection upon the duke of Orleans, whose interests had always been dear to the parliament. They consequently proceeded to deliberate, and the company was so strongly opposite in their opinions, that instead of the verification which the king demanded, they came to a sentence of division.

The cardinal, who could not think of permitting them to have any consideration for his enemies, persuaded the king to go immediately to Paris, to insist upon the declaration being verified, and to inflict a little mortification on the parliament itself. The king having arrived at the Louvre, sent a message to the parliament, requiring the members to come to him there, in a body, and on foot. They obeyed, and were conducted to the gallery which united the Tuileries to the Louvre, where they found the king seated under a canopy, prepared for the occasion. The keeper of the seals addressed them, and after the opening ceremonies, told them that the parliament had no power to pronounce judgment upon any but

private affairs, and not upon affairs of state, of which the king reserved the cognizance to himself. When it was question of the trial of a prince, a duke, or an officer of the crown, for malversations in the administrations of the finances, or of affairs of state, the king must address a particular commission to the parliament, to extend its jurisdiction to that case, or he would himself appear in person, to authorize these extraordinary proceedings. It was true, that in order to form a judgment upon a commission, it was necessary to take cognizance of the cause ; but when the object was to confirm a declaration, which always allows criminals a certain time to return to their duty, there was no occasion for any deliberation. All which signified that the king was desirous of employing the authority of parliament to destroy the persons who favoured his brother, in due form ; but that he would not leave the parliament the power of saving them if they were innocent.

The speech of Châteauneuf being concluded, the king commanded the register of the parliament to be brought to him, and to have the leaf pointed out in which the decision of division of opinion was entered, which he tore out with his own hand, and ordered to be inserted in its place that of the council, by which the court of parliament was forbidden to deliberate upon declarations relative to affairs of state, under penalty of interdiction to the councillors, or even severer punishment, if deemed necessary. It was further ordered, that for the fault committed by the court of parliament, the declaration which had been sent should be withdrawn, and it should be forbidden to take any cognizance of its contents. To mark his indignation, the king interdicted and banished two presidents and a councillor, who were, however, soon after re-established.

And here we cannot refrain from making one of those *comparisons* so excusable but so gratifying to the pride of

an Englishman. Two years before this disgraceful exhibition in the Parliament of Paris, Charles I. was forced, greatly against his will, by the Parliament of England, to pass the Petition of Rights. Such events are never unproductive of great consequences in the history of countries : one of these assisted in leading to the Revolution of 1688, the other to that of 1792.

Upon hearing of this, Monsieur sent a remonstrance to the parliament, in which he said he had left the kingdom on account of the violent persecution he had endured from the Cardinal de Richelieu, who had made an attempt upon his person, as well as upon that of the queen-mother, as preparatory steps to making a similar attempt upon the person of the king, and of rendering himself master of the kingdom. He likewise protested against the king's proclamation, and demanded recognition of his protest, as well as of his declaration by which he pronounced himself formally an opponent of the cardinal. But the king, by a decree of council, ordered this remonstrance to be suppressed as calumnious, and issued another decree against the procureur of the duke of Orleans, who had presented it.

The queen-mother also sent a remonstrance to the same parliament, in which she declared that without having done anything against the king or the state, she was detained at Compiègne, under a strict guard. She had always, she said, endeavoured to preserve peace with the princes and the nobles of the kingdom, as well as with the ancient allies of the crown, and to preserve the finances of the country in a good state : whereas, Armand Jean, Cardinal de Richelieu, had, on the contrary, engaged the king in perpetual wars, and had caused him to go to places in which contagious distempers raged, in the heats of summer ; he had introduced into his majesty's mind suspicions against those most nearly related to him, and against his most faithful servants ; his intention was to

render himself master of a part of the kingdom, by only placing in it creatures subservient to his will. She also accused him of other things, and requested, that in order to save her reputation, and to make her innocence known to the whole kingdom, a decree should be granted, by which it might appear she was anxious to be considered the denunciator of the actions of the cardinal, and the opponent of him and his adherents. But the parliament, which had been so roughly treated for deliberating upon the remonstrance of the duke of Orleans, did not venture even to open the queen's packet, but sent it, sealed as it was, to the king.

A short time after, upon learning that the Marshals Schomberg and D'Estrées and the Marquis de Brezé were coming to Compiègne with twelve hundred horse, to take her from that place by force, she sought means for making her escape secretly. She left Compiègne in the night, without being discovered, and went to Chappelle, a place on the frontiers of Picardy, where the son of the Marquis de Vardes, the governor, had promised to receive her. But the cardinal was acquainted with her every movement, and quickly sent the old marquis, who expelled his son from the place and prevented her being received there. There is every appearance that the cardinal was exceedingly willing the queen-mother should escape; as he was acquainted with her intention of going to La Chappelle time enough to prevent her admission to that city, he certainly might have given orders to stop her, if he had pleased. But it was more advantageous for him that she should leave the kingdom; and the apparent complaisance of removing her guards was only to give the queen-mother an opportunity for committing the error which proved so injurious to her. Being informed that she would not be allowed to enter La Chappelle, and knowing no part of the kingdom in which she could be secure from the inexorable vengeance of the cardinal, she retired into

Flanders, from whence she wrote to the king, that she could not believe that she had offended him by endeavouring to deliver herself from the persecutions of his minister ; and that, contrary to her inclinations, she had retired into Flanders, because she had been denied entrance to La Chappelle. She was received at Brussels by the Infanta with all sorts of honours, and nothing was omitted to console her for her troubles. But she shortly received an answer from the king, couched in terms that affected her greatly, and which proved the extraordinary ascendancy which the cardinal had obtained over his mind. "I know," said he, "by many proofs, the affection and sincerity of my cousin, the Cardinal de Richelieu. The religious obedience which he renders me, and the faithful care which he has of all that concerns my person, and the welfare of my state, speak for him. You must permit me to tell you, if you please, madame, that the action you have just committed, together with all that has taken place, for some time past, makes it impossible for me to be ignorant of what have been your intentions, and what may be expected for the future. The respect I entertain for you prevents my saying more." If this letter had been dictated by the cardinal himself, as no doubt it was, it could not be stronger or more mortifying to a princess, who, after all, had only aspired at authority which the king endured without jealousy in the person of the cardinal, and which he might as well have submitted to from his mother. We do not believe it was judgment that guided the choice, or any idea that Richelieu would govern the state more for the advantage of his people than his mother would ; a thought of them, any further than as subserving to his wants, never entered his mind ; the genius of Louis XIII. cowered before that of Richelieu even more than Antony's did before Cæsar's : he was his master.

Thus the artful minister had found means to thrust from

the government the mother and the brother of the king, to raise suspicions of the queen his wife, and to keep at a distance from him all the princes of the blood. As it was impossible for the cardinal to undertake to deprive the king of his crown, in order to place it on his own head, and as the duke of Orleans or other princes of the blood might be accused of entertaining such a view, the suspicious and credulous king was taught to mistrust them all, and, after having ill treated them, to believe that they were his enemies, eagerly watching for a favourable opportunity for openly declaring themselves.

CHAPTER VII.

Mary de Medici in the Netherlands—Intrigue against the duke of Guise—War against the duke of Lorraine—Capture of Pignerol—Treaty with Lorraine—Parliament of Paris rebuked—Gustavus Adolphus—Continued differences with Monsieur—Another treaty with Lorraine—Trial of Marshal de Marillac—Execution of Marillac—Montmorenci—Humiliation of the magnates—Skirmish of Castelnaudary—Gaston reconciled—Trial, condemnation, and execution of Montmorenci.

THE cardinal did not fail to take advantage of the circumstance of the queen-mother having sought refuge in the Netherlands; he convinced the king that if she had not a good understanding with the Spaniards, she would not have gone uninvited into their territories. He had so artfully woven his meshes around the monarch, that from this time he was the director of every action, and no one was allowed to approach him but such as would impart to him what the cardinal wished him to hear, and no more.

Mary wrote to the parliament and the provost of the

merchants of Paris, protesting her innocence, and demanding their support against the *insolent man* who usurped all authority in France. After a characteristically warm appeal, she says, if she be denied all assistance in France, she will lay her cause before the whole of Christendom. She likewise wrote in very strong terms to the king, urging him to recall both her and Gaston, at the sight of whom, at the feet of their natural monarch, she predicts the guilty minister would soon fly away. She finishes by saying: "You tell me your actions are known to all Christendom. They may be, and favourably as regards war; but not for your humanity with respect to me; for you will renounce all claims to it, if you continue to treat me thus."

Instead of replying to his mother's letter, the king published a proclamation filled with the crimes of the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans, and the virtues of his beloved cousin and counsellor the Cardinal de Richelieu. As all the world knew every word was of Richelieu's dictation, it surpasses our idea even of his effrontery, when we read the fulsome praises lavished upon himself. By this proclamation, the queen-mother, the duke of Orleans, and all their adherents were deprived even of means of subsistence; every kind of property they possessed was confiscated: the dowry of the queen and the revenues of the duke of Orleans were no more respected than the estates of the rebellious nobles. The more strongly to prove his determination in this affair, or rather the more clearly to show by what principle he was guided, whilst he thus reduced to destitution his nearest relations, he appeared to be never tired of heaping benefits of every kind upon the cardinal. His estate of Richelieu was created a duchy and peerage, and a contest arose between the chambers of parliament for the honour of receiving him in the quality of duke and peer. This at length was decided in favour of the grand chamber, and he took his

seat, accompanied by Condé, Montmorenci, Chevreuse, Montbazon, De Rets, Ventadour, the marshals, and a host of the representatives of the old chivalric houses of France. From that time he was styled the cardinal-duke, as Olivarez, the king of Spain's first minister, was called the count-duke. The king likewise bestowed upon him the government of Brittany; which appointment was consistent with the one he so strangely held as a cardinal, of sur-intendant of navigation and commerce. But the peculiarity of *governments* at that period was, that they became so closely connected with their governors, that the principal city was a place of refuge or safety, in which they very frequently defied even royalty; and the great object of Richelieu was to gain such a security for his person, in the event of a change of affairs at court. A writer observes upon this: "Thus that which was a capital crime in the Huguenots, who composed so considerable a part of the state, was bestowed upon Richelieu, as a reward for his services: a minister might have a city of refuge, the Huguenots might not." The Prince de Condé, who would do anything for money, was mean enough to allow himself to be sent through the provinces, to appease the minds of the people, who murmured at the excessive favours bestowed upon the cardinal: he felt no shame at publishing praises of a man who had formerly imprisoned him, and whose favour he was never able thoroughly to conciliate. Condé, as first prince of the blood, next to Monsieur, could not fail to keep alive the watchful jealousy of Richelieu. The cardinal was fortunate in having, as heads of the great houses of Condé and Soissons, two very different men from those who illustrated those names in the next reign: the great Condé and Prince Eugene would not have been so easily dealt with as their immediate ancestors were. "*In Languedoc*," says the author we have recently quoted, "*he praised him in terms worthy of a man in want of bread, and who could*

gain it by no other means." We do not know what these terms were; but they could scarcely exceed in adulation a speech made by him on the same subject in an assembly of the States of Brittany. "Among the infinite number of the obligations you owe to the king," said he to them, "whether for having allowed you to retain your privileges, or granting you advantages over the other provinces of his kingdom, you are indebted to him for a recent one, greater than all, in having given you as governor Monsieur le Cardinal de Richelieu, whose learning and pure morals, in his youth, obtained him a bishopric, his merits a cardinal's hat, his services and capacity the highest employment in state affairs, his valour the generalship of several armies, his fidelity and love for the person of the king the cordial affection of his majesty, and as a mark of this and of his confidence, the posts and governments which he possesses, and holds from the royal hand. Of these things, however great, we must still say, they are but a small part of the recompense due to him, for having, in his first dignity, confounded heresy, and in his second, supported the Church; in office, for having strengthened the state by his counsels, and by his valour having struck down and defeated rebellion, and extended the limits of France in Italy, Lorraine, and Germany; and by his fidelity, with a continual care, having watched over the preservation of the king, under the commands of whom he has always acted as a second cause, in the great affairs which his majesty has had and still has on his hands, in order to re-establish the kingdom in its splendour." The prince ought rather to have said *first cause*, for the royal machine did but move as the cardinal pulled the strings; then there might have been some truth in this speech, so little worthy of a prince who had aspired to the crown, and actually in his heart hated and dreaded the object of his eulogy. What was there left for the king, but to associate his minister with himself on the

throne, if what he had given was only a small part of the reward due to him? We cannot wonder at the fawning servility of private individuals or the extravagant haughtiness of the cardinal, after such an exhibition of meanness in a prince of the blood, so proud to all others. Leclerc, as we have observed, one of the best biographers of the cardinal, has a remarkable observation upon this speech: "We may almost fix upon this time as the period of the extinction of that generous love of truth, which formerly made, so to say, martyrs, even among Pagans. We have seen little else in France since the excessive authority of the cardinal, but extravagant flatteries, and histories written on purpose to advance the merit of men and objects beyond the truth." We suspect that this shaft is aimed at Aubery, whose voluminous work, though valuable on account of the historical details, is one hymn in praise of the cardinal. Voltaire truly characterizes it by saying: "It is mediocre, but much may be learnt from it."

The Prince de Condé was sent into Provence, under the pretence of calling an assembly of the states, but in reality to ascertain the tone of the public mind, to watch the conduct of the duke of Guise, whom the cardinal hated, and to throw into the shade the authority of the governor of the province, by the dignity of his rank and the power he had received from the king. The cardinal appointed the Marquis de St. Chamond lieutenant of the king in Provence, for the purpose of thwarting the duke of Guise in whatever he might undertake against the authority of the minister. The Prince de Condé wrote to the Duke de Guise to request him to meet him at Avignon, to confer upon affairs of the crown, without saying what they were. The duke was offended at this mode of proceeding; he replied that he could only see the prince on the frontiers of Provence, and complained to the cardinal of the hauteur with which he was treated. The king had *been led to believe* that the duke kept up an understanding

with the Spaniards, and intended to introduce their troops into his government. It was at the same time said that the Duke de Feria had received orders to send Italian and Spanish troops to Barcelona, to embark for Provence. Whether there was any foundation for this, or whether it was an artifice of his great enemy, the king, by the advice of the cardinal, ordered the Duke de Guise to come to court. He at once refused to obey, because he dreaded, with reason, either the Bastille or the Bois de Vincennes, and, as a compromise, at length obtained permission of the king to go to Our Lady of Loretto, and thence to Florence, as a guest of the grand duke.

This prince was suspected by the cardinal of having supplied the queen-mother secretly with money, and of favouring the Spaniards. So jealous was he, that Gondi, having been to Florence, where the duke then was, upon his private affairs, and returned to France, was ordered to quit that kingdom, and with great difficulty obtained permission to remain there. In a long conversation which he had with Richelieu, the latter gave him a garbled and glozing account of the affair of the queen-mother; from which, notwithstanding the art with which he related it, Gondi said he could only gather what other people believed, that the cardinal had known the queen-mother wished to escape, and had afforded her means and opportunity, in order to be able to accuse her of having intelligence with Spain, and prevent the people from being exasperated by her exile. The party of that princess and Monsieur was extremely weak; they had neither friends nor money; the rigours exercised against them had terrified many who would have aided them. The queen-mother could not raise money on her jewels, as it was feared the king would claim them as the property of the crown. In order to confirm the king in his ill-will towards his mother, a strict search was made for all the persons whom the queen had consulted concerning his

majesty's horoscope ; and Senel, the king's physician, and Du Val, were condemned to the galleys, for having examined it, and drawn sinister predictions from it against the life of his majesty.

The duke of Orleans, who had always kept up an intercourse with the duke of Lorraine, endeavoured to persuade him to favour his party, and that prince got together some troops, either for the purpose of taking advantage of the disturbances he thought likely to ensue, or to defend his states against the Swedes, who at that time menaced them. The cardinal, who was no friend of the house of Lorraine, and who dreaded its aiding with its powerful influence the cause of Monsieur, seized this opportunity of declaring war against the duke. Marshals La Force and Schomberg were sent into Lorraine with an army, and were ordered to take several places dependent upon the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Vervun, which were said to have been usurped by the duke of Lorraine ; and particularly to attack Moyenvic, which the emperor had seized by the advice and with the assistance of that prince.

The king and the cardinal intended to make the campaign in person, but it was, in the first place, necessary to put in order and cause to be executed the proclamation against those who were of the party of the queen-mother. The cardinal feared, if this were left to the parliament, the execution would be tediously prolonged, because the parliament acted in this case with ill-will, and would pay too much attention to forms ; the members felt that in addition to the dictates of justice they listened to those of prudence in so acting ; it was not safe to espouse the anger of the minister against the duke of Orleans : whilst the king remained childless, he was presumptive heir to the crown. The cardinal, therefore, who never loved antiquated proceedings except when they were favourable to *his own views*, persuaded the king to establish a chamber

of justice, and to proceed with vigour against those who had favoured the queen-mother and his brother, particularly such as had left the kingdom with them.

The parliament refused to verify the proclamation concerning the establishment of this new chamber, unless the members who composed it were all taken from their own body. The king thereupon sent them orders to put an end to their opposition; and the parliament humbly contented itself with requesting that the registrar and the substitute of this chamber should be taken from their company. But the minister, who was not willing they should have a possibility of acquitting, or deferring the punishment of those he wished to condemn, induced the king to establish, by letters patent, this chamber at the Arsenal, without introducing into it any members of the parliament. It consisted of two councillors of state, six masters of requests, and as many councillors of the grand council. The king likewise established a chamber of demesne, to follow the court, and execute its orders. The parliament made ineffectual struggles against these proceedings; the cardinal steadily pursued his policy; every class in the kingdom must bow to royal authority, which was, in fact, his own.

The royal army seized the places in Lorraine, as it had been commanded to do, with the exception of Moyenvic, which was attacked in the name of the bishop of Metz, the king being unwilling to declare open war against the emperor. This place being ill-provided, surrendered on the 27th of December. The duke of Lorraine being in no condition to resist the royal army, thought proper to arrest its progress in the best manner that was left to him; he repaired to Metz, to meet the king and the cardinal, and was, apparently, well received.

Although the Count de Soissons had been for some time reconciled to the cardinal, that minister had afforded him no mark of confidence until the Countess de Soissons

proposed to him to marry her son to his niece, the Marquise de Combalet, which had given the queen-mother room to say that the cardinal wished to place the crown on the head of that prince. The king, to show how little he valued his mother's opinion, and, at the same time, to prove his confidence in the cardinal, on joining the army left the Count de Soissons as his lieutenant-general in Paris, and in the neighbouring provinces.

To revert to the affairs of Italy, upon which the cardinal had always an eye, the duke of Savoy accommodated matters with the duke of Guastalla, by the interposition of the nuncio Pancirolo and the ambassadors of the emperor and the king of France. The most difficult treaty was that of Quercy, in which the celebrated Matthias Galas acted for the emperor, and Thoiras and Servien for France. The nuncio took the part of mediator, and the duke of Savoy looked after his own interests in person. After long and tedious negotiations, the affair was settled, but only in appearance; for in the complicated transactions in which so many interests were concerned, it was quickly found the parties had only sought to overreach each other: loopholes for fresh differences were soon discovered. A great many fortresses were to change hands, and where the captors had found out the advantages of their conquests, this was done very unwillingly. Among these Pignerol was conspicuous: it was dear to the cardinal, on two accounts; he had won it himself by a piece of skilful generalship, of which he was proud, and he was, as a statesman, fully aware of its value to France. Although France had promised, by the recent treaty, to surrender it to the duke of Savoy, he could not make up his mind to do so, whatever might be the consequences. Most of the princes of Italy strengthened this resolution by secret messages; they were well pleased that France should have an open door into Italy, by

which she could, at her will, send an army to check the excessive power of the Spaniards. Besides, the cardinal thought he could not leave a more illustrious monument of a portion of his genius in which he took great pride, than a place of such consequence, which had been so weakly given up to the duke of Savoy by Henry III.

The difficulty was to find means for keeping it, without again disturbing the peace of Italy, which could not be done without the consent of the duke of Savoy. The cardinal, who had already conceived a great esteem for Mazarin, and who knew that he stood high in the opinion of the duke of Savoy, charged him with this negotiation, and he acquitted himself perfectly to the satisfaction of his great teacher. We can scarcely imagine a political object that could not be effected by two such heads as those of Richelieu and Mazarin, acting in unison, particularly when, as in the present case, self-interest was the governing principle with both : Richelieu had a darling object in view ; Mazarin had to show himself worthy of being associated with the most eminent master of the craft in which he was a zealous pupil.

The duke of Savoy, having consented to leave Pignerol in the hands of the French, was gratified by Canaves, to the prejudice of the duke of Mantua. The cardinal was the professed friend of the duke of Mantua, and by this spoliation only verified the proverb which tells us with whom we have most right to make free.

The Spaniards and the Imperialists, who knew nothing of this negotiation, which was kept very secret, were surprised to see France rob the duke of Mantua, her own ally, to gratify the duke of Savoy ; but time soon revealed the mystery. Nothing was to be known till Mantua had been restored, the passes of the country of the Grisons replaced in the hands of their ancient masters, and the hostages given up ; because the Spaniards, who

had a visible interest in keeping the French on their own side of the mountains, would have broken the truce at once, if they had dreamt of their holding Pignerol.

The plan then was, for the French to leave that place according to the word of the treaty, and to re-enter it according to the agreement with the duke of Savoy. As a security for his word, the duke sent into France the Cardinal de Savoy and Prince Thomas, his brothers, under the pretence of their passing into Flanders. But the politic cardinal, who knew how slightly princes sometimes value ties of blood, was fearful that the duke, to whom Pignerol was quite as important as it was to France, might not keep his promise in an instance in which he would be certain of being supported by the whole power of Spain. It became, then, necessary to seek for other means of holding possession of Pignerol, and yet to appear to evacuate it. The Marquis de Villeroi was charged with the delicate task; and he acquitted himself in such a manner, that he not only deceived the Piedmontese and the Spaniards, but the French themselves.

He selected three hundred men, to whom he feigned to confide a secret order he had received from the king, to march promptly to the citadel of Casal, and desired them to send their baggage with that of the rest of the garrison, then preparing to march out on the day appointed, and take the road to Dauphiny. In the mean time, he concealed these three hundred men in various places, particularly in a loft of the castle, which had had for a long time a walled-up door towards the donjon. Villeroi divided this loft into two by a wooden partition, and placed wheat on one side, and a strong party of his soldiers on the other, where the bricked-up door was. But as all this could not be easily executed without exciting suspicion among the Piedmontese who were in the place, he spread a report that the plague was active in Pignerol, particularly in the citadel; and this not only repressed the

curiosity of the people, but prevented the garrison the duke was to send in from being in a hurry to take possession. The Count de Verruë, whom the duke had sent to receive the place ostensibly, was in the secret; but the commissioners of the emperor and the king of Spain had not the least suspicion of it. As soon as they arrived, the French troops were marched ostentatiously out towards Dauphiny; and Villeroi offered to conduct the commissioners through all the magazines, affecting extraordinary precision, in order to weary their attention and gain time; all which he did with the greater ease, from the commissioners being unwilling to enter any place which had not been cleansed and purified by the burning of perfumes. On entering the citadel, the marquis surrendered the gate to the Count de Verruë, who placed it under the guard of an officer with sixty or seventy soldiers; after which, the garrison was ordered out, and he led the commissioners everywhere. The count had with him a colonel in the service of the duke of Savoy, who, knowing nothing of the secret, was very inconveniently curious and inquisitive; so that Villeroi, fearing he might discover the place in which he had concealed his soldiers, was obliged to make a sign to Verruë, and turning to the commissioners, he said it was growing so late, it would be advisable to send some one to examine the fort of St. Bridget; and this task was immediately assigned to the observant colonel.

The cardinal was so determined not to give up Pignerol, that Villeroi had orders to take the commissioners prisoners if they discovered the trick; and for that purpose he had with him ten or twelve of his most resolute men ready to obey him at the first signal. The contemplation, even, of such an outrage, that could not have been committed without violating the law of nations, as well as the solemn treaty of Quercy, proves the strong inclination the cardinal had to hold this place. Fortunately, the commissioners *had no idea of the deceit practised upon them;*

and Villeroi obtained from them, the same day, an attestation that Pignerol had been faithfully and honourably surrendered to the Savoyards. It was immediately sent to Ferrara to effect the release of the hostages.

No one was visible in the citadel, except four or five persons acting as guards to the magazines ; and the Piedmontese at the gate had orders to let nobody in but a page belonging to the Count de Verruë, in order to create an opinion that no one was in the citadel, and allow them to go about more confidently. This affair lasted thirty-two days, the concealed soldiers being amply supplied with provisions. During this time, the marquis entered five or six times by *Porte de Secours*, of which he had kept the keys, without being known.

It however became necessary to release these soldiers from their concealment, and to give the world to believe that they had re-entered the citadel in spite of the duke of Savoy. They might have had some difficulty in finding a pretence for this, if the duke of Feria, governor of Milan, had executed the treaty of Quercy more promptly. But, in the fear that the French might take advantage of his good faith, he had detained some of the troops he ought to have sent away. The French, when informed of this, began to make heavy complaints, and to assert that the Count de Merode was threatening the passes of the *Valteline* afresh.

The succours of money, which the Spaniards were accused of sending to the queen-mother, furnished further matter of grievance ; and remonstrances of a strong character were sent to the Duke de Feria, by means of Mazarin, in order to irritate the Spaniards, and lead them to make some infraction in the treaty, which might enable the French to say that they had been constrained, by the bad faith of the Duke de Feria, to make themselves masters of Pignerol again.

The duke, on his side, began also to complain of the

French, because the garrisons of Mantua and Casal were full of soldiers of their nation, and that the Grisons were fortifying the pass of Steich, in contravention of the treaty of Mantua. He published a kind of manifesto, in which he exposed all the infractions he pretended the French had made in the treaty of Quercy ; and said, *that they might be followed by serious inconveniences*. The French ministers, eager for an excuse for quarrel, caught at these words, as implying that as soon as French troops should be out of Italy, he would revenge the infractions imputed to them. They learnt, likewise, that the emperor had declared that the investiture sent to the duke of Mantua was null and void unless the treaty of Ratisbonne were strictly adhered to; and nothing more was necessary to satisfy the French that the Spaniards intended to invade the states of the duke of Mantua afresh.

Thereupon they published a proclamation in concert with the duke of Savoy, though in public they complained greatly of him ; in which, after having pointed out the many instances of bad faith in the Spaniards and their allies, particularly the duke of Savoy, the better to conceal their game, they said that the king was resolved to secure the peace of Italy by protecting his allies in that country. In furtherance of this, Servien had orders to demand back again of the duke of Savoy several places in Piedmont, and among them Pignerol, in order to secure the French army freedom of passage. The French ministers, following the example of the cardinal, protested before God and before men, that the king did not do this from any ambitious motive, or to disturb the peace of Italy ; but, on the contrary, to strengthen it, and to allow his allies to enjoy the repose they had so long wished for.

The duke of Savoy pretended to think this demand extremely strange, and told Servien the reasons he had for refusing to comply with it ; but Servien replied, that

if he did not grant all the king demanded with a good grace, the army then in Dauphiny and Provence should repass the mountains by force, and place his allies in security. He gave the duke three days to consider the matter ; after which, in case of a refusal, he told him he had orders to proceed instantly with the invasion of Piedmont and Savoy. The duke then communicated the demands of the French to the duke of Feria, and took care to require such enormous succours as he knew the other could not possibly furnish ; adding, that he likewise wished Spain to pay him what she owed him. In short, the duke of Savoy and the cardinal played their deceitful game so well, that the duke affected to be converted to the French party ; the duchess wrote to her brother to induce him to make the terms of the alliance easy to her husband ; a set of articles were drawn up ; and, by the consent of the duke, instead of the Swiss garrison, which had been stipulated for, French troops marched into Pignerol ; and the poor concealed soldiers were liberated from their disagreeable confinement.

The duke of Savoy informed the duke of Feria of the agreement he had entered into with the French. The governor of Milan did not dare to disapprove entirely of the conduct of Amadeus, although he said he feared it would be very prejudicial to Italy. Thus the French appeared to regain possession of a place they had never abandoned, and they afterwards prevailed upon the duke of Savoy to make it over to them entirely, without the Spaniards ever suspecting the trick that had been played them. The want of ability in the Spanish ministers in Spain was generally blamed, and it was thought strange that the duke of Savoy, for the sake of a few estates in Montferrat, should voluntarily place himself in bonds, by giving up Pignerol to the French.

The poor duke of Mantua and his interests were never *for a moment* considered in this unprincipled game of

selfish interests ; they furnished France with an excellent pretence ; but in all these Italian wars which excited the French so much during the reign of Louis XIII., they were never the real object of contention. This political episode may be said strictly to belong to history, but we have related the somewhat amusing details, to show the nature of the policy of the man whose life we are writing, and the effective way in which he infused it into the minds of those who acted with him or under him.

The king being at Metz, the duke of Lorraine came to him, and, after some negotiations, concluded a treaty with France, by one of the articles of which he agreed to expel from his states all the enemies of the king and all his subjects who had left the kingdom against his will, and to refuse them for the future all means of passage or retreat. By the *enemies of the king*, a secret article stated that the queen-mother, the duke of Orleans, and their party were designated. The cardinal omitted no opportunity to prove to his former benefactress that she could not quarrel with him with impunity.

A short time after, the deputies of the parliament repaired to Metz, where the king then was. After having made them wait a fortnight, he granted them an audience, and told them that this time he pardoned them, but they must be careful not to offend again : a relapse would be fatal to them. He loved his people, he said, better than they did ; he had the glory and greatness of the state more at heart than they had, and knew better how to support it ; and he positively forbade them, for the future, to meddle with anything but the simple administration of justice. They replied that they had been brought up in a very good school, in which they had learnt the obedience and fidelity they owed his majesty ; to which the king sharply answered : “ If they had, they had profited very ill by that which had been taught them.” The keeper of the seals then addressed a long remonstrance to them, in

which he reproached them with having had the presumption to aim at sharing authority with the king. He told them, however, that the king sent them back to their duties, with the exception of five of them, who were interdicted and ordered to follow the court, to serve as an example.

Monsieur was obliged to leave Nanci and retire into the Netherlands, whilst the French army advanced towards the frontiers of Germany, as if to favour Gustavus Adolphus ; though at bottom France began to be jealous of his victories, and to fear that the emperor and the Catholic league would succumb entirely beneath the power of his arms. The king of Sweden had frequently expressed a strong desire to have an interview with Louis XIII., and that monarch, not to offend him, affected to reciprocate the wish ; but there was nothing further from the thoughts of the good prince than to expose himself to a close comparison with one so much his superior both in mind and person. Thus, a short time after, the king of Sweden was informed that the king of France was so seriously indisposed that it would be impossible for him to come to an interview, and it was proposed to him to meet the Cardinal de Richelieu, in whom the king placed entire confidence, and who would be much better able to treat with Gustavus than his master. The king of Sweden, who was prompt and plain-spoken, replied that he would send one of his valets to confer with the cardinal ; he deemed himself quite the equal of the king of France, and could not at all conceive why he avoided an interview ; kings of Sweden had never yet yielded to kings of France, and all kings were equal.

This speech of Gustavus, in addition to the suspicion entertained of his having an idea of universal monarchy, greatly cooled the zeal of the French court for his service, and prevented the king from declaring openly against the *house of Austria*. Besides, the cardinal had private

reasons for avoiding great enterprises, in which France might not be always successful. It was all very well to make a great matter of advantages gained over a small power, like Savoy, or to call it a war when an army was marched to quell a refractory noble in his government; these affairs amused the king, and made him think he deserved the title of Louis the Glorious as well as of Louis the Just. But with such a man as Louis XIII., the ascendancy of Richelieu was, in part, a *prestige*, and one great defeat would have "laid him open to his enemies." The hatred which the queen-mother, Monsieur, and almost all France, entertained for him, as well as that of the foreign powers he had so cruelly offended, with his constant fear of the king's death, altogether made him often think of securing himself against any untoward accidents.

With this view he offered his niece Combalet in marriage to the Count de Soissons, of Bourbon blood, and not many degrees removed from the throne, with great advantages. He proposed to place him in a position not only to support the relations of his wife, but even almost to give laws to the king himself. The count had no objection to the match, but wished that the king should declare, in writing, that he was desirous this marriage should take place, as advantageous for his service and for the good of the state, and that he therefore commanded the count to marry the niece of the cardinal. The minister, to whom the king refused nothing, fancied he should very easily obtain this favour, and asked it, without, however, being able to draw from the king a satisfactory answer. He continued, therefore, to carry on the affair on his own responsibility, and employed his creatures to urge the Count de Soissons to its completion. To his great mortification, he, however, soon discovered that the idea of the marriage was displeasing to the king, who judged, with reason, that it would render the Count de Soissons,

too powerful; that the Prince de Condé, second prince of the blood, and the open enemy of Soissons, would join the malcontents; and that the king would thus be left alone with the count, and have all the enemies of the cardinal on his hands, likewise.

The cardinal having learnt what were the king's sentiments upon the matter, appeared to bow willingly to them, and circulated a report that his niece was about to retire to a cloister, though such a step was the last thing in the fair lady's thoughts. There must have been some one who secretly made the king sensible that the marriage would render the count too powerful, and would greatly irritate both the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans, whom, in conscience or in policy, he could not for ever keep out of the kingdom. By stating this opinion, what an idea historians give us of this imbecile monarch! as if he were of himself incapable of forming so palpable a conclusion for his own safety and power. The cardinal, who was not accustomed to any check in that quarter, and did not seem to apprehend that any one but himself could breathe a thought into his master's ear, began to fear that the affection of the monarch was cooling towards him, and he was extremely melancholy for several days.

The Prince de Condé, not having received what he thought adequate remuneration for preaching the cardinal's praises, and enraged at the idea of the Soissons marriage, retired, in disgust, to Bruges.

The duke of Lorraine had offered to mediate between the king and Monsieur, and he had been permitted to propose that if the prince would return to France, a general amnesty should be granted to all who had taken his part, and that they should be re-established in their property and their dignities, only excepting the governments they had held. But they, far from being willing to place themselves under the tender mercies of the cardinal,

calculated upon gaining something by returning ; and persuaded Monsieur to reject these offers at once.

The duke of Lorraine, likewise, who perceived that their return, on the cardinal's conditions, would only augment the power of a minister, the declared enemy of his house, was the first to advise Monsieur to have recourse to arms. He himself recommended raising levies, that he might not be again surprised in the manner he had been. Monsieur, who had retired into Flanders, returned to Lorraine with some troops, which he joined to those of the duke.

The king and the cardinal were, in the mean time, gone into Picardy, to oppose the enterprises of the malcontents, who had their partisans in that province. The governor of Calais, who had declared for Monsieur, was brought back to his duty by the arrival of the king, who from thence took the route for St. Germain. The cardinal was attacked by a slight fever during this journey, which detained him two days at Corbie ; but it did not prevent his attending to business, and he speedily followed the king. As soon as the cardinal heard of Monsieur's return to Lorraine, he despatched Marshal d'Effiat to take the command of the army, with orders to enter the states of the duke of Lorraine, and to oppose the march of Monsieur, if the duke of Lorraine could not be brought, by means of negotiation, to observe the treaty of Vic.

Promises and menaces proved useless with that prince, until he saw an army with the king at its head. This army quickly took Pont-à-Mousson, and coming upon a regiment of Lorraine cavalry by surprise, cut them to pieces. The royal armies were, in those days, nothing to what we are accustomed to see ; but our readers must observe how easily they subdue the forces raised by the princes when they venture into the lists with their suzerain. Regular standing armies, kept in constant

exercise and discipline, inflicted the death-blow upon feudalism.

The duke, being in no state to resist, was glad to come to an accommodation, and a treaty was quickly concluded between that prince and the Cardinal de Richelieu, who was impatient to return to France, in order to oppose the enterprises of Monsieur. The duke of Lorraine placed the cities of Stenay, Jamets, and Clermont in the hands of the king, and even sold him the last entirely, the crown having claims upon it.

Whilst the cardinal had been in Picardy and Lorraine, he had ordered preparations to be made for the trial of Marshal de Marillac. After having him arrested in Piedmont, he had sent him to the castle of St. Menehaud, and thence to the citadel of Verdun. At length, according to the cardinal's custom, the king established a chamber of justice at Verdun, to try this matter. It was composed of four masters of requests, two presidents, and twelve councillors of the parliament of Burgundy, their commission bearing date May 13th, 1631. Marshal de Marillac was accused of peculation, and some witnesses, who had been collected during the time of his imprisonment, accused him of having appropriated a part of the king's money, placed in his hands for the purpose of fortifying Verdun. The chamber interrogated him, confronted him with the witnesses, made various proceedings in compliance with his request and that of the procureur; and at length pronounced a sentence by which he was allowed to bring proof of his justificative facts. It is impossible in a life of Richelieu of the extent prescribed us, to give an idea of the network of villany, injustice, and cruelty with which that unscrupulous man always surrounded his victims. The detailed history of the sacrifices offered up by him to his selfish ambition would make an interesting volume, if we could escape the horrors with which they were attended. They are as dramatic as *causes célèbres*, and deeply im-

pressive, from the conspicuous rank, and, in some instances, virtues of the sufferers. The cardinal, who had expected that the chamber would pronounce a sentence of death, ordered the commission to be revoked, and dismissed the judges. When Richelieu proposed to himself an immolation of this kind, he was always particular in the selection of the scene: his principal care in that respect being to avoid all places where sympathies for the accused could exist, or demonstrations of public opinion at beholding injustice might be expected. Marillac's trial took place at Verdun, a comparatively obscure city, of which Vaubecour, his implacable enemy, was the governor. As a marshal of France, it might have been expected, if justice was the object, that the place of his trial would have been Paris, or at least the capital city of one of the provinces.

Enraged at the postponement of his revenge, Richelieu immediately issued another commission, and, this time, "to make assurance doubly sure," absolutely appointed the sitting in his own country house at Ruel, a little village between Paris and St. Germain-en-Laye. The commission consisted of the tractable members of the last, and others added to make up twenty-four.

The marshal excepted to the chamber in general and to several of the judges in particular, and gave strong reasons for so doing; but the council pronounced his protest null, and in spite of all his efforts he could only procure the rejection of one. Châteauneuf, the keeper of the seals, and the mere creature of Richelieu, presided. Marillac had, no doubt, committed offences, which, at the present period, might procure an officer's dismissal from the service; similar peculations were attributed in rather loud whispers to a colonel of royal blood in England, within the last fifty years; but, if we remember correctly, were shifted off to the convenient and accommodating shoulders of an inferior officer. But, in the age of

Louis XIII. we should say that no commander was free from that for which Marillac was ostensibly brought to the block. His address to his judges is so affecting, that we cannot refrain from giving a portion of it.

On the 18th of April, the commissioners sent for Marillac, at an early hour; he requested to be allowed time to hear mass and to communicate, which being granted, he afterwards proceeded to the chamber, and, on his entrance, bowed respectfully to all the magistrates. Châteauneuf pointed to the *sellette*, upon which he was to sit, and demanded the usual oath of him: "Gentlemen," then said the marshal in a firm voice, and with a tranquil but impressive manner, "I am aware of all the honour that is due to this illustrious assembly, in which there are many persons of distinguished merit; but being, by the grace of God, born a gentleman, within the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris, and the king having raised me to the dignity of a marshal of France, I cannot recognise you as my natural judges, nor honour you in that quality, after the protests I have made, and which I again reiterate. I hope, gentlemen, you will not consider that I act wrongly in claiming rights which my birth and my rank entitle me to. If I have made several general and individual challenges, it has been with no view of offending your body, or any one of those who compose it: I yield only to the necessity of a just defence. It is not impossible that, misled by false accounts, I may have advanced improper reasons for the challenges; if it be so, I disclaim them, and I do not except even that which I have alleged against M. Bretagne: I have many reasons to suspect him, but I am naturally an enemy to slanders and calumnies; and this is why I do not blush again to beg you to pardon me all the unfounded offensive remarks I may have unintentionally made.

"As to you, monsieur," added Marillac, turning to the *keeper of the seals*, "I well know your merit and ability;

I respect your birth, and am able to boast of having been intimately connected with several of your nearest relations. I am willing to believe you have accepted with repugnance the commission of presiding in this chamber, and that you have not been able to resist the pressing solicitations of my enemies, whom you know, but whom I dare not name; nevertheless, pardon me the liberty I take in telling you that, notwithstanding the rectitude and integrity upon which you pride yourself, this pretended selection of judges, these irregular and unheard-of proceedings, this extraordinary expense which you have needlessly incurred, would give in the most irreproachable man in the world reason to fear that there was constraint and violence in the opinions to be given, and that the presence of a magistrate of your rank would influence those who would otherwise be willing to follow the dictates of their own consciences. And you, M. Ballion, you are not ignorant that in addition to what I have alleged against you in my challenges, I have many things to reproach you with; but what advantage should I gain by this vain effort against the artful cabal of my enemies? I should not be listened to: it would only, therefore, irritate you, and further animate my persecutors.

“But, whatever may ensue, I cannot suppress my expression of the horror I feel at seeing a certain man seated on the *fleur-de-lis* in this assembly. Will posterity believe, gentlemen, that the author of that writing in which religion is turned into ridicule, in which insults are cast upon the ashes of a prelate more eminent for the sanctity of his life than for his dignity as a cardinal, and whose memory will always be held in reverence by the Church,—in which M. de Marillac, my brother, is impiously calumniated, in which I am placed in the ranks of brigands and *pendards*, words worthy of the passion and rage of the author; will posterity believe, I say, that he who composed this infamous libel, should have power

given him to deprive me of life and honour? I speak of you, Duchâtelet; of you, who have publicly boasted, in the presence of several illustrious persons, and have even confessed it to some of those gentlemen, who must permit me to appeal to them as witnesses, that the hymn, as you call it, is of your composition. And yet you have had the hardihood to deny it, by a base perjury, before the sacred person of the king. Great God! if, for the completion of the oppression I endure, such a man must be my judge, employ the sovereign power which thou hast over the hearts of men; make him as moderate on the tribunal as he has been maliciously ferocious on other occasions."

The marshal afterwards exposed the violences exercised in getting up his trial, the suborning of witnesses by Moriq and Laffemas, commissioners; the threats and imprisonments employed to intimidate those who refused to speak against their consciences; the rejection of all who exculpated him; the alterations and colourings given to depositions; the seizure of papers without furnishing an inventory of them; the subtraction of all that might serve for his justification, particularly letters from the king and his ministers; the unheard-of and unexampled cassation of the sentence of the chamber of Verdun; the changing of his first judges, and the extraordinary manner of removing him to several places. He did not forget the refusal made to his wife to be admitted to the presence of either the king or the Cardinal de Richelieu, or the inhuman order sent to this lady to retire into an obscure village, where she had died of grief. "I do not present myself before you, gentlemen, for the purpose of defending my life," concluded Marillac; "to a man of my age, and in so sad a situation, that must be a burthen: I have so often exposed it before the eyes of my king, that I cannot be suspected of fearing death; submissive and *resigned to the will of God*, I will meet it firmly, come

from where it may, and by whatever means. My only object is to retrieve my honour and my reputation from the calumnies of my enemies, and to return to the king without a stain the baton I received from him as a mark of the rectitude of my actions, and of my inviolable fidelity in his service."

In order to oblige the judges to condemn him to death, the procureur of the king cited an ordinance which condemned persons guilty of peculation, *to confiscation of body and goods*; but the others maintained that that only meant confiscation of goods and imprisonment. At length, without even examining him upon most of the principal accusations brought against him, the chamber proceeded to pass sentence. Ten of his judges were for granting him life, two of them were for acquittal, or at most, slight punishment; but thirteen pronounced for death; so that, according to the form of criminal trials, he was only condemned by one voice. Most of the judges had been excepted to on very good grounds, such as public and declared enmity to the accused, entertained for a length of time. Instead of, as is the custom in criminal matters, taking the voices three times, and requiring them to speak the last time slowly, to give time for change of opinion, scarcely were they taken once, when Châteauneuf, the president, pronounced sentence of death, and sent off intelligence of the event to the king.

As soon as the marshal's relations were informed of the sentence, they hurried to St. Germain, to implore his pardon of the king, but, judiciously, thought it best in the first place to apply to the cardinal, to secure his intercession. When informed by them of the reason of their coming, Richelieu pretended to be astonished, and told them, that they informed him of a thing he was not aware of; but he was very sorry Marshal de Marillac should, by his own error, have brought himself into such a situation; to which he added, "See the king, see the

king; he is very good." They then implored him to grant them the favour of speaking to the king, and interceding for the marshal; to which he shortly replied: "*I have told you, you had better see the king.*" When they threw themselves at the feet of the king, he replied, that he would see how it might be proper to act, and they might retire. They immediately did so, and the next day again waited on the cardinal. They had some difficulty in getting admitted to the antechamber; and the cardinal, as he passed through, and they paid their respects to him, exclaimed: "*Well, gentlemen, have you seen the king?*" One of them told him of the king's reply, upon which the cardinal rejoined: "*I advise you to obey the king.*" Another then again supplicated him to intercede with his majesty, and the minister, no longer able to restrain his passion, replied in a stern, sharp tone: "*I advised you to retire, because the king told you to do so; I now command you to retire, on the part of the king.*" By this reply they plainly perceived that the death of the marshal was inevitable; and he was accordingly executed at the Grève, on the 10th of May, protesting his innocence. Peculation had never till that time been punished with death in France; therefore, that was not the crime which brought him to the scaffold.

He had had the boldness to advise the queen-mother, at Lyons, when the king was sick, to have the cardinal arrested, in the event of the monarch's death, which was a crime the minister never pardoned, and which could only be expiated by blood. As for his brother, the keeper of the seals, he was conducted to Pontoise, where he shortly after died; and thus the cardinal got rid of two enemies, who, if they had lived, might have given him reason to fear them. Ambition was a sharply-contested game in these times; but no one played it so artfully, boldly, and unscrupulously as Armand Jean Duplessis.

It is said that the cardinal had himself solicited the

judges, one after the other, the day preceding the trial ; and yet it is asserted that when they waited on him, in the hopes of being thanked, or, as we should say of thief-takers, for their blood-money, the cardinal said to them, in a jeering tone : “ It must really be confessed that God grants lights to judges which He does not extend to other men, since you have been able to find wherewithal to condemn Marshal de Marillac to death.” He took care to have it reported, after his death, that the queen-mother had prevailed upon him to favour the Spaniards in Italy and Germany, and that it was only out of respect for that princess that this was not brought forward on his trial.

After a long and interesting account of this disgraceful affair, an intelligent French writer says : “ If we are ever in search of a striking example of the abuse of ministerial power, the trial and sentence of Marshal de Marillac may be cited above all others.”

To carry out the humiliation of the magnates of the kingdom, the cardinal, not content, with having driven the duke of Guise out of France, gave his government of Provence to Marshal de Vitry, and appropriated to himself the charge of admiral of the seas of the Levant. It was pretended that he had instigated the Spaniards to make a descent upon the isles of Hieres, and to fortify them. The duke did everything in his power to justify himself, and entreated to be permitted to return to France, but as he was naturally anxious to procure some security, he was told that innocence alone could be his safeguard ; so that he did not dare to trust to the justice of the king, who found every one guilty who had displeased the cardinal.

About this time, Mazarin came, under various pretences, to try to make favourable terms with Richelieu, on the part of the duke of Savoy, for the permanent surrender of Pignerol, but could obtain nothing but the promise of a sum of money. That city, which had been in

the hands of the French since the month of October, 1631, as a deposit, was yielded to them by an agreement signed the 5th of May, 1632.

To return to Monsieur, who gave the cardinal the most trouble. As soon as it was known that he had formed the design of entering France with the troops he had been able to collect, Richelieu informed the Spaniards, that if they assisted the duke of Orleans in any way, he should consider the peace of Verdun broken. For fear, however, they should undertake this enterprise, without regard to consequences, the cardinal granted the United Provinces all they required from France, under a promise that they should make neither truce nor peace with Spain. By this diversion his purpose was to make the Spaniards too busy on their own account, to think of assisting the duke of Orleans. This prince entered France with fifteen hundred or two thousand horse, and threw himself into Burgundy. He published a manifesto, in which he treated the cardinal as a tyrant, a usurper, the enemy of the king and of the royal house, and in which he said he had taken up arms for the purpose of opening his majesty's eyes, and making it clear to him that his minister was deceiving him. Monsieur assumed the title of lieutenant-general of the king, for the redress of abuses and the suppression of the violence of the cardinal. He passed with his troops near Dijon, which place having refused him provisions, saw one of its faubourgs burnt out of revenge. From thence he went into Auvergne, where he levied three thousand foot, without committing any ravages, being restrained by the presence of Noailles, the king's lieutenant in that province.

The king went to Paris for the purpose of meeting the parliament, and verifying a proclamation against the malcontents. He appeared in this assembly with the cardinal, and there pronounced the apology of that minister, by observing, that seditious people never failed to

blame the conduct of government. A proclamation of the king's was registered, in which the duke of Orleans and his cause were set forth in the blackest colours, and the cardinal and his ministry with the highest praise; the kingdom was said to be in an unprecedented state of prosperity and glory, all which was due to the exertions and talents of the great minister. Monsieur's adherents were again declared traitors, and he himself was allowed six weeks to return to his duty.

Two *corps d'armée* were sent against Monsieur, under the command of Schomberg and La Force; but both the marshals evinced so much repugnance to the task, as to create a serious difficulty with the king and his minister. They said it was an unfit thing for a subject to attack, with the chance of killing, the brother of the reigning monarch, and the presumptive heir to the crown, unless they fought under the command, and in the presence of the king: in the event of the king's death, or even of a change of the ministry, their situation would be such as they would not willingly risk. His majesty replied, that with regard to his brother, it was not his wish that he should sustain any personal injury; and he desired them to treat him with the greatest respect. La Force replied, that if the duke led his troops, such courtesy could not be practised in battle. The cardinal perceived that, if compelled to act, it would be but feebly, and likewise feared that, being forced upon a duty they did not like, they might be corrupted: the king's delicate health made such derelictions more than probable. It was therefore determined that the king should take the command in person.

Monsieur, in this hazardous enterprise, was made painfully sensible of the penalty attached to his previous want of good faith; not a single governor would join his standard in all the provinces he passed through. Most apprehended the king's death; all hated the cardinal. A prince, with his claims and injuries, possessed of the

qualities of a leader, and an honourable character, would have won hosts of adherents ; but he could not be trusted in any way. All knew that it was for his own selfish interests alone that he wished to seduce them to rebel ; and that, for these interests, he would as readily sacrifice a friend as a foe. We cannot fancy a more contemptible character than Gaston of Orleans. As heir presumptive, he knew the cardinal did not dare to touch his person ; and he was constantly entangling in his cabals subjects who jeopardized everything, and, in most cases, lost their lives, for a man who, as it has just appeared, never incurred any danger. After all, what were his injuries ? —that he could not have money enough, or offices to produce it, to supply his vicious pleasure, and maintain an injurious cabal in the court : he was too selfish to permit us to think that his mother's wrongs were the motive of his hostility to the cardinal.

The melancholy episode we are entering upon reminds us how frequently, in conspiracies, rebellions, and revolutions, the most estimable characters have been the victims ; the pages of history are so full of such instances, that we really can scarcely turn to one of these great social convulsions without meeting with them. In most cases, their noble qualities have brought on their ruin : dazzled by some noble, patriotic aim, or seduced by some generous feeling, they enter blindly upon enterprises in which they are most likely associated with the ambitious and the designing ; and their high principles, in case of failure, prevent their escaping in the way that meaner natures are almost sure to do.

The only person of importance that joined the ill-planned and ill-fated invasion of the duke of Orleans, was the head of the great house of Montmorenci. Henry the Second, Duke de Montmorenci, peer and marshal of France, was grandson of the celebrated constable, Anne *de Montmorenci*. He was very rich, and was looked

upon as the highest noble next to the blood royal. He had been subjected to various injuries by the cardinal, which had engendered a hatred that only waited for a fit opportunity to show itself. He was of too noble a nature to allow him to think of any means but such as were open and honourable ; and indeed, although then deeming himself wronged by the cardinal at the period of the king's illness at Lyons, he had, at his majesty's request, undertaken the defence of the minister, and would honourably have performed his promise, if necessity had required it. The cardinal had said he considered it for the interest of the government that the post of high admiral should be abolished, and requested the Duke de Montmorenci, who held it, to consent to that measure. The duke complied ; but the cardinal only changed the name of the office ; he appropriated to himself the duties and emoluments of it under another title. He also promised the duke the rank of constable, which had been rendered so illustrious by his ancestors, and had become almost hereditary in his family. But the cardinal thought fit to suppress the title and functions of this high office ; and when the duke solicited the post of marshal-general of the camps and armies of the king, instead of the constablenesship and the high-admiralship which he had resigned, it was flatly refused. The duke had, nevertheless, kept up an appearance of cordiality with the cardinal : his was not an intriguing disposition, and no occasion for showing his resentment in a way worthy of a Montmorenci had occurred before this invasion by the duke of Orleans.

Some of his biographers say that, tired of living under the authority of a minister who would not be served by friends but by slaves ; or else urged on by his wife, Mary des Ursins, a relation of the queen-mother, he had entered warmly into the interests of that princess, and had engaged his word to Monsieur as soon as the latter retired from court.

He at first endeavoured, under various pretexts, to raise levies without giving umbrage to the court; but having at length declared himself, he induced the states of Languedoc to call in the duke of Orleans to protect them, to promise him money for the payment of his troops, and to engage never to separate themselves from his interests. He was likewise promised money and troops from Spain; but the money was of small amount, and came late: the troops never came at all. He had a considerable sum of money in Paris, which he sent for; but the minister, learning his intentions, had it seized. Thus the party of Montmorenci became almost destitute of everything; and when the king set forward on his march to join Schomberg, who was following the steps of Monsieur, it was not in a state to make effective resistance, if the royal armies were united. Monsieur was at the head of two thousand foot and three thousand horse, with many volunteers, and three pieces of cannon; Marshal Schomberg had but a thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, and was destitute of artillery. The marshal, having arrived at Castelnaudary on the 1st of September, drew his troops up in order of battle, the enemy being at a short distance. The Duke de Montmorenci, either thinking that they ought to attack the royal army while they were the stronger, or that it would be judicious to open the campaign by a brilliant stroke, advised that they should march at once against the enemy. He took the command of the van, and Monsieur that of the main body. Accompanied by the Counts de Moret, de Rieux, and de Femillade, he hastened to the support of the forlorn hope, which had received orders to take possession of an advantageous post.

The Count de Moret was the first to charge the royal cavalry, and by his spirited attack threw them into some disorder, which so excited Montmorenci, that although he *had very few men*, he galloped up to join him. His

biographer says, that there, forgetting the duties of a general, he fought with the greatest bravery, like a simple soldier. But the affair of Castelnaudary was nothing but a skirmish, in which it became the duty of every one to fight man to man, and there was no room for generalship. A party of the royal infantry in ambuscade in the ditches came to the assistance of the horse, and poured in so opportune and destructive a volley, that the Counts de Moret, de Rieux, and de la Feuillade, with several officers, were killed, and the Duke de Montmorenci was wounded in many places. He might have retreated, if, at the same time, his horse had not been shot under him : he was made prisoner, and carried off to Lectoure. The army of Monsieur beheld these generous nobles sacrifice themselves in this manner without making the least effort to extricate them or avenge their death : they did not strike a blow ; they retreated, the infantry dispersed entirely, and Monsieur retired quietly with his cavalry to Besiers, the few cities that had declared in his favour returning silently to their allegiance—to their king.

The duke of Orleans, as usual, began to show strong signs of repentance : and Ballion, who, after several fruitless negotiations, was sent to him on the part of the king, soon induced him to sign an agreement, in opposition to the opinions and wishes of most of his followers. The greatest difficulty was the Duke de Montmorenci, whom Monsieur insisted upon having restored to his liberty, his honours, and his property. Ballion told the prince that the only means of obtaining what he wished was to submit implicitly to the will of the king : to require assurances of him was only to irritate him, and wound the confidence he ought to have in his goodness ; to pardon Montmorenci was a favour of which the king ought to have the whole glory, and he injured the duke's cause if he did not leave it entirely at his majesty's discretion ; the blind obedience which he would render the king ought to put him out of

fear, and give him as certain hopes as it was possible for him to entertain. This speech of the cardinal's well-drilled emissary persuaded the duke of Orleans that it was by the king's desire he spoke in this manner, and prevented his pressing further for a positive promise for the liberation of Montmorenci. Whether Puylaurens and the rest, without whose advice Monsieur did nothing, were glad to get rid of Montmorenci, or that they did not see through the artifices of Ballion, they, in this case, committed an enormous error, which greatly discredited their party. It generally appeared, by the conduct of Monsieur, that the persons he placed confidence in were capable of deceiving nobody but himself, and were totally unfit for the management of affairs of any kind. They had been able to mislead him into an exhibition of discontent with the court, but they had not good sense enough ever to re-establish his power on a solid foundation, or to obtain for themselves any fruit from the influence they had over his mind.

In the treaty of reconciliation signed by Monsieur, he humbly confessed his fault, implored the king to pardon him, and gave all the securities that could be possibly required of him, never to offend again. As upon all such occasions, he abandoned his friends, and submitted to any terms the king chose to dictate; ending his notable palinode, by promising *to love all who served his majesty, particularly the Cardinal-Duke de Richelieu, whom he had always esteemed for his fidelity to his person and to the interests of the king and the state!*

After mutual hollow expressions of esteem, and forced promises on the part of Monsieur, his troop retired to Roussillon, and he, with his confidants and domestics, by order of the king, took up his residence at Tours.

Monsieur wrote a letter to the king, requesting pardon for Montmorenci, but it was useless. Montmorenci was *too formidable* an enemy for the cardinal, to allow him to

escape now he had got him safely in his clutches ; no one could ever impute weakness of that kind to Richelieu. As soon as he was captured, his fate was deliberated upon in the close council, and every means was used by his artful enemy to irritate the king against him. When Montmorenci had first appeared at court, it was with all the advantage of high birth, youth, a fine person, great wealth, accomplishments, intelligence, and undisputed courage. Living, as Anne of Austria did, with a cold husband, insensible to love, and yet jealous of it in others, it was almost natural that a neglected, beautiful woman should attract the attention of such a man as young Montmorenci. She made impression enough upon him to excite notice in a court teeming with intrigues ; but the affair was checked in time, and Montmorenci retired temporarily to Chantilly, without his reputation as a gentleman of honour, or the queen's as a faithful wife, having received any stain. But, in compliance with a Spanish fashion of the time, the duke had a small miniature taken of the queen, which he wore on his wrist in a kind of bracelet. When he was taken prisoner, Pomponne de Bellievie, an intendant in the army of the Marshal de Schomberg, managed to take it off, and secreted it, for fear of consequences. But some officious persons who had seen him do this, communicated the circumstance to the cardinal, who did not miss such fortunate means for irritating the imbecile king by awakening his jealousy. Louis required no other spur to treat the unfortunate duke with rigour.

Richelieu, however, wishing to affect an appearance of equity towards a man to whom he had many and great obligations, prefaced his opinion in the council by saying : " There were many reasons which might lead his majesty to extend his grace to the Duke de Montmorenci : Monsieur had offered to abandon all the connections displeasing to his majesty, and to return to his duty, upon condition

that that nobleman should be pardoned : without that, the duke of Orleans could not with honour return to the obedience due to his majesty, because all his servants were of opinion that he ought to risk everything to save the Duke de Montmorenci. If Monsieur were driven to despair, those who served the king would never be safe, because the persons of the other party would judge that there was no other means of saving themselves but destroying them. Monsieur having just renounced all connections and practices opposed to the good of the state, there was nothing they could not now undertake against the Spaniards ; whereas, as long as he was discontented, they could take advantage of no opportunity."

After having stated these reasons in favour of Montmorenci, the artful orator proceeded : " On the other side, if they considered that the king was without children, and Monsieur heir presumptive to the crown, it would be found that, if they did not treat those who had taken his part with rigour, the first time the king was ill, let his indisposition be ever so light, so many people would declare themselves for the duke of Orleans, that the king would never again be master ; whereas, if the Duke de Montmorenci were punished as he deserved to be, no one would venture to make any premature declaration in his favour : numbers of kings had only been able to maintain their dignity in the decline of life by rigour." After having cited several examples, he continued : " If nobles, communities, and the people, were once led to believe that consideration for Monsieur was capable of screening the seditious from the punishment of death, there would always be numbers to be found who, believing their lives in safety, would hazard their fortunes in his favour, to have the chance of increasing them at the expense of the state. The privation of charges, without depriving the criminal of life, was nothing on this occasion, because *Gaston*, being considered presumptive heir of the crown,

they who would lose their charges for having taken up arms in his cause would hope to recover them with usury, as soon as that prince should be upon the throne. The crime of the Duke de Montmorenci was not a simple crime of rebellion into which Monsieur had seduced him; he had urged the duke of Orleans to enter France, and had raised a province by means of deliberation of the states, a thing that had never happened before. It would be difficult and dangerous to keep him in prison: instead of extinguishing the party, that would give it additional strength. Monsieur had submitted to the king, not from inclination, but by necessity: the Spaniards would still be the same, and the queen-mother would remain equally angry. Puylaurens would have no less influence over the mind of Monsieur, no less connection with the Lorraines, no less ambition. The danger being past, the duke of Orleans would listen afresh to all the evil counsels that might be given to him. If it were resolved to abandon the Dutch and the Swedes, the rage of the Spaniards might cease; and if it were deemed fit to sacrifice to the queen-mother all those she hated, and place the king in a state of dependence with respect to her, perhaps her animosity would cease likewise; but if neither the one nor the other were done, as, in fact, neither could be done by the king without destroying his own power, it was certain, that the more Monsieur's party subsisted in its leaders, the greater would be the danger, on account of their continual cabals, and, because the peril being past and experienced, it would be thought lightly of. The Duke de Montmorenci being punished, his party would decline in Languedoc, and that of Monsieur throughout France; whereas, if he were kept in prison, whatever other head might be laid low, he would always have secret friends, and they so much the more faithful from having no other hopes of advancement than from his re-establishment, which they would consequently use every effort to

bring about. As to Monsieur's petitions in favour of M. de Montmorenci, they would be more worthy of consideration if we could depend upon the promises which accompanied them; but that was not possible, as he had repeatedly broken his word after having been treated with the greatest kindness by the king, and seeing his servants loaded with favours: it would be the height of imprudence to put faith in him. If it were found that Monsieur had no power to save the Duke de Montmorenci, fewer persons would be eager to serve him; and that reason alone was sufficient to warrant his punishment. The duke of Orleans being unable to save him, would not be inclined to incur injury to himself on account of his death; the necessity he was under to permit it would place his reputation in safety, since it is better to have an arm cut off than to lose one's life. Even if the duke of Orleans should think proper to go into Spain, by punishing the Duke de Montmorenci they would cut the power of that prince up by the roots, as he would never be able to set another party on foot. There was no doubt that the ministers who counselled the exercise of rigour on this occasion exposed themselves to many dangers; but when the service of the king and the state was concerned, it was their duty to act without any regard to their private interests. In fact, to grant the life of the Duke de Montmorenci to the prayers of Monsieur, would be strengthening his party and weakening that of the king. The king might, nevertheless, do it, from his own goodness, without any agreement at all; but there would be much more danger in doing it than in not doing it."

The view we take of history differs from almost all others: it becomes clearer by distance, provided the distance be not so extended as to make facts obscure. There are so many passions still awake, so many interests still concerned, so many parties still existing, that a true esti-

mate of important historical events or conspicuous historical characters can scarcely be formed till time has laid all these at rest. The writers who immediately followed Richelieu lived during the enormously long reign of Louis XIV., for whose despotism the policy of the cardinal, no doubt, facilitated the progress, and, therefore, took an exalted view of all that was performed by the great minister. The sagacity and prudence of his conduct in the affair of Montmorenci, are by them most eulogised ; but we, who view it at a safe distance, free from biases of any kind, and with a knowledge of results, can see in it little more than the narrow policy of a selfish man employing the powers of a strong intellect to secure his own safety and greatness, and pitilessly to destroy an enemy. The king's authority, that is, such authority as depends entirely upon force, might be strengthened by it ; but when Richelieu talks of the state, by which we now understand the people, he at once allows us to perceive the transparency of his reasonings, because their true interests, we know, never gave birth to a single measure of his reign. In fact, Montmorenci's was a rebellion against the cardinal-duke, a man hated by the whole nation, the king included ; beloved by his own creatures, and nobody else : he knew this. His enemy was in his power, and he glutted his revenge.

The council, who never contradicted the cardinal with impunity in affairs of importance, were unanimous in agreement with his opinions. The king, who was naturally inclined to rigorous measures, and to whom generosity was a virtue almost unknown, embraced on this occasion, as on nearly all others, the part of severity. After this council, the king presided over an assemblage of the states of Languedoc, at which the cardinal was present. This was done for the sake of an opportunity for censuring the states for allowing themselves to be seduced by the

Duke de Montmorenci, and for giving orders for the punishment of some bishops and gentlemen who had declared in his favour.

From thence the court repaired to Toulouse, where the parliament was to try Montmorenci, although the proper authority was that of Paris. The cardinal, who never permitted delay when the object was to punish an enemy, prevailed upon the king to name this parliament in preference to that which legally ought to have tried him. Châteauneuf, who had been page to the Constable de Montmorenci, the father of the accused, and six *maîtres de requêtes*, came to preside over the trial; and as the Duke de Montmorenci had been taken in arms, he was declared guilty of high treason, and condemned to death, after having been questioned, and having confessed that he was guilty of the main charges. Among the numerous friends who rushed to the presence of the king to intercede for Montmorenci, was the famous Jussac, Sieur de St. Prenil, captain of the guards, who had taken him prisoner. This was deemed such a piece of assumption in a private gentleman, or rather a soldier of fortune, that the angry cardinal exclaimed: "*St. Prenil, if the king did you justice, he would place your head where your feet are;*" as if it could be a crime for a brave man to intercede for an illustrious prisoner he himself had taken. St. Prenil was one of the most eminent of the great swordsmen who illustrated the reign of Louis XIII., and so high was his reputation for the bravery and multitude of his feats of arms, that this same haughty minister once said: "If I were not Cardinal de Richelieu, I should wish to be St. Prenil." The cardinal's arrogant speech may almost be considered a prophecy, for the valiant captain became afterwards one of his victims, and was beheaded for an offence of which he was not guilty.

The cardinal, however, to save appearances, sometimes, *in public*, affected to feel great sorrow, and to exhort per-

sons of high rank to solicit the mercy of the king. He sent the nuncio Bichi and the Cardinal de la Valette on this sleeveless errand ; but the king was too well taught to listen to them. St. Simon, a relation of the duke's, endeavouring to bend the stubborn will of the king, Richelieu feigned to partake his grief, and joined in his intercessions, by finding excuses for the criminal ; but he did not fail to add, that his majesty having suppressed the Huguenots, and extinguished a dangerous faction in his states, felt himself obliged to make an example, in the person of M. de Montmorenci, in order to keep the nobles within the bounds of duty. The Princess de Condé, sister of the condemned duke, threw herself in tears at the feet of the cardinal, begging him to intercede for her brother ; but the artful prelate, instead of raising her, fell on his knees before her, lamenting, with a responding flood of tears, that he was unable to discover any means of softening the king.—Molière himself never exceeded that scene ! The old Duke d'Epéron, who had been suspected of favouring Monsieur, but had never declared himself, left his government of Guienne to make his solicitations at the feet of his majesty, in the name of all the friends and relations of Montmorenci. His appeal was a strong one : after the king had raised him from his knees, he said, he was bound to acknowledge the error of his friend ; but he felt emboldened in asking this grace of his majesty, from having himself received a similar one, and was happy to say he had no reason to think his majesty repented of having granted it : he was not the only one who owed his majesty a debt of that description ; the Cardinal de Richelieu had had as great a part as he had ; they had both been in the interests of the queen-mother, at a time in which the name of a king was opposed to them, although their only intention had been to serve him ; and if he had then abandoned them to the rigour of the laws, he would have deprived himself of

the useful services of the one, and of the gratitude of the other. The youth of the Duke de Montmorenci ought to plead as strongly in his excuse as their earnest wishes. His person being in his majesty's hands, he could not do anything injurious to his service, whilst his preservation would acquire the king eternal glory. He begged his majesty to consider that in his person alone remained the great name of MONTMORENCI; that the merit of his ancestors, the long list of whom extended to the very commencement of the French monarchy, demanded pardon more loudly than his rashness could draw upon him the rigour of the king's justice. If he were sufficiently fortunate to obtain his friend's life, he would pledge himself that it should only be employed in his majesty's service, and that his blood should only serve to wash out the stains of his crime, that they might be effaced from memory."

The king listened to the Duke d'Epéron without interrupting him, and having cast down his eyes when he began to speak, he neither raised them nor replied by a single word when he ended. D'Epéron perceived by this obstinate silence that the cardinal had so strongly impressed upon the king's mind that the duke must be sacrificed, that it was impossible to save him. His master had dictated his behaviour, and he did not dare to reply to such a man as D'Epéron, for fear of committing himself. Finding all in vain, the proud duke resumed something of his natural character, and said:—"Since your majesty gives me no reason to hope for the pardon of the Duke de Montmorenci, I beg I may be permitted to retire." The king replied that it was best he should, and that he himself should not remain long at Toulouse.

The Duke de Montmorenci was so generally beloved, and the cardinal hated, that in the court, as well as among the people, an expression of great sorrow prevailed. One day the people of Toulouse assembled round the house

in which the king was lodged, at a time when he had many persons with him, and began to cry with a loud voice—“ *Mercy ! mercy ! pardon ! pardon !*” The king asked what that meant, and some one was bold enough to answer, that if his majesty would put his head out of the window, he would have pity on the poor people. But Louis haughtily replied : “ If he followed the inclinations of the people, he should not act like a king.”

As soon as the duke's sentence was known, the king sent Launai, lieutenant of the body-guards, to demand his marshal's baton and his insignia of the order of the Holy Ghost. He charged the officer to assure the king that he repented sincerely of having offended him, and that he should die his humble servant. Launai found Louis in his closet, playing at chess with Lancourt, and after having delivered the duke's message, he threw himself at the feet of the king, bathed in tears, imploring pardon for Montmorenci. All who were present did the same, and the king underwent the annoyance of seeing everybody weeping around him, and that no one, except the cardinal and his creatures, approved of his severity on this occasion. He replied that no pardon could be granted him—he must die ; they ought not to be concerned at seeing a man die who deserved his doom, but they ought to pity him for having fallen into such a misfortune. All the favour the king would grant him was, that the executioner should not bind him, that his property should not be confiscated, and that he should die in the court of the Hôtel de Ville. He was decapitated on the very day his sentence was pronounced ; after which the king set out immediately for Paris. Every one was surprised that Louis, who, at the first accusation made by the cardinal against any person, yielded to what the minister said, even for the destruction of those who had rendered services to the state, should have been able to resist the solicitations of his whole court and the prayers of all France, on an

occasion in which, by saving the last of the most illustrious race in his kingdom, clemency would have done him infinitely more honour than severity. But, in addition to the cardinal having convinced him that Monsieur and his partisans had no other design but to dethrone him, although they might assert that their only enemy was the minister, the miniature that had been found on the person of the duke had so violently excited the jealousy of the king, that nothing could save him. The ever unhappy queen was rendered more wretched by learning what was one of the causes of the melancholy fate of the duke ; and, after a strong contest between her sense of humanity and her fears of her husband and the cardinal, was obliged to yield to the latter, and refrain from joining her voice to that of the whole nation for the pardon of Montmorenci : she knew the nature of both too well ; her entreaties would have been looked upon as a confirmation of their dark suspicions. The comment upon this story is very short, and lies quite on the surface : it was not the error of Montmorenci that brought him to the scaffold, but the jealousy of the monarch, awakened and kept alive by Richelieu, and the envy and fears of the minister, who dreaded the influence of such a character as Montmorenci's. Among all the princes or magnates who could have disputed the place of honour with Richelieu, this unfortunate nobleman was most feared by the cardinal ; for, in addition to great abilities and commanding position, he had an honour and a spirit above any price the minister had it in his power to bribe them with.

Two little private-life traits of Montmorenci will prove to our readers, perhaps more than public acts, the vast difference between the characters of the victim and the oppressor. There was much of the romance of a fine chivalric nature in Montmorenci. Everybody gambled in *these* days, when indoor amusements were so few ; how *few*, we may suppose, when we recollect that such a man

as Anne de Montmorenci, the celebrated constable, and grandfather of the cardinal's victim, could neither read nor write. Education seems to have been in an anomalous position; it was either neglected or carried to an extreme: perhaps, in this age, when a princely Montmorenci was left in a state of utter ignorance, there were men more laboriously and deeply learned than any our times could produce. Compare the youth of Montmorenci—we mean Anne—with that of the fantastically-educated Montaigne; the one the heir of the first house in Europe below royalty, the other the son of a Gascon gentleman. As we said, everybody gambled. Montmorenci was playing, and the stake was high—three thousand pistoles. A gentleman among the lookers-on breathed a sigh, and whispered to his next neighbour: “That sum would make my fortune!” Montmorenci heard him, but said nothing. The dice were propitious; he won. Quietly taking up the money, he led the gentleman a little on one side, put it into his hand with a friendly pressure, and whispered: “I wish, monsieur, your fortune were more considerable.” During a journey into Languedoc, some of the companions of the marshal-duke were discoursing on what constitutes the real happiness of life, and maintained that people in the lowest condition might live in perfect content. Montmorenci, perceiving four labourers in a field, dining under the shadow of a hedge, exclaimed: “Let us accost yonder people, and ask them if they think themselves happy.” Three of them admitted that, confining their happiness to certain comforts which God had given them, they had nothing more to wish for. The fourth, however, honestly confessed that there was with him one thing wanting to make him happy; and that was, to be able to acquire a certain little heritage, which his forefathers had possessed. “And if you had that heritage,” said Montmorenci, “should you be content?” “As much so as possible, monsieur,” replied the peasant. “How much is it worth?”

said the marshal. "Two thousand francs," replied the good man. "Let it be given to him," said the duke, turning to one of his officers, "that it may be said I have at least made one man happy in my life." Can we find such incidents in the life of the cardinal? Play-wrights and novelists will answer, "Yes." But, in his case, what were they? The insidious bounties of a recruiting-serjeant, artfully bestowed, in order to seduce some man of extraordinary bravery or splendid talents to a subserviency to his will and his ambition.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Cardinal at Bordeaux—His illness—Monsieur retires to Brussels—The war in Germany—The Queen-Mother—Disgrace of Châteauneuf—Extraordinary trial of the Chevalier Jars—Parliament of Paris severely rebuked—Splendour of the Cardinal—Richelieu, Oxenstein, and Grotius—The house of Lorraine.

BEFORE leaving Toulouse, the king did not forget to punish all who had been partisans of Montmorenci; the bishops incurring the severest penalties. The court of Rome lent a willing hand in many of the spoliations and changes. The nobility had their castles and woods destroyed, and tranquillity was restored in the province.

Marshal d'Effiat, superintendent of the finances, dying in Germany, was succeeded by Ballion, one of the cardinal's creatures; and the Marquis de Breze, who had married one of his sisters, was made marshal of France, after the paltry skirmish of Castelnaudary. Marshal Schomberg, as the reward for his share of the same important affair, *had the government* of Languedoc, vacant by the death of

Montmorenci; but he did not enjoy his easily-gained honours long, for he died within a few months after his appointment: his son, the Duke d'Hulluin, succeeded him.

The cardinal, whilst at Toulouse, proposed to the Duke d'Epéron to give up to him the government of Metz, of which D'Epéron's son, the Marquis de la Valette, was entitled to the succession, and offered in return the succession of that of Guienne; but D'Epéron, who did not like the cardinal, and was not a man to be plundered quietly, at once refused. It was believed that the cardinal intended to appropriate to himself the bishopric of Metz, with some rich abbeys of that city; and to attach to them the title of governor of the city and Pays Messin, as well as of the cities and citadels of Toul and Verdun, and thus to create for himself, on that side of France, a secure retreat in case of need.

After the death of Montmorenci, the king returned to his beloved Versailles as quickly as possible. The cardinal had wished to take him, with all the court, to his government of Broüage and to Rochelle, and to bring him back to Paris by the route of Richelieu, where he purposed to entertain him. But the king would not go, although he consented that all the court should accompany the cardinal. Thus the queen, the ministers, most of the courtiers, and even the nuncio Bichi, and the ambassadors of Venice and Savoy, took the road to Bordeaux with the triumphant, vainglorious cardinal, whilst his royal servant, most likely glad to be removed from under his master's eye, resumed his favourite hunting-dress, and went hawking at Versailles. It was well understood in the court, that the cardinal, finding he could not prevail upon the king to go with him, was resolved he should have nobody of consequence to speak to in his absence, not even excepting the queen; so that that princess was compelled to be of this party, entirely against her

will. She had very little reason to like the cardinal, or to grace his triumph; he had, but a short time before, proposed to the king to repudiate her, under the plea of sterility; besides which, she naturally took too much interest in the house of Austria, to be friendly with a man who was its declared enemy. The queen was unable to conceal her annoyance, and, in spite of all the honours rendered to her by the cardinal's orders, she appeared low-spirited and absent during the whole journey.

She was desirous of seeing the mansion of the Duke d'Epernon, at Cadillac, to do which it was necessary to cross the Garonne, and the party left their carriages, and went on board boats provided for the passage. The Duke d'Epernon had carriages ready for the queen and her suite at her landing, and gave strict orders that others should remain for the cardinal, in case he should be behind her. The queen so completely engrossed the attention of D'Epernon, that whilst conducting her to his house, and then to her apartments, he forgot to inquire whether the cardinal had been duly provided with a conveyance. But the presence of royalty had confused his attendants as well as himself; so that when the cardinal landed, he found no carriage left—all were filled and gone with the queen and her suite. He, however, would not wait, but set forward on foot towards the duke's mansion. That nobleman having paid the first rites of hospitality to his royal visitor, went to meet the cardinal, and, to his great surprise, encountered him half-way between the river and the house, trudging on foot, in not the best of possible humours. It was not the personal fatigue that pained him: his pride, his dignity, were wounded. The confused duke made a thousand apologies, assured him he had given particular orders that there should be a carriage for him, and was astonished at not having been obeyed. The *cardinal feigned to be satisfied with his excuses*, but he

could not so far overcome his temper as to avail himself of a carriage when one came, and insisted upon walking the whole way, although much inconvenienced by the exertion. Historians do not tell us so, but we are strongly inclined to suspect this was a trick of the courtiers, who, having such a person as D'Epernon to throw the blame upon, enjoyed the joke of making the cardinal walk ; and we can even fancy them, aye, and the queen herself, peeping out at the windows and laughing as they saw him coming up the avenue, casting not over-loving glances at his host.

After spending two days at Cadillac, the party returned to Bourdeaux, where the cardinal fell seriously ill ; so much so that his life was despaired of. The belief that he could not recover became general, and everybody rejoiced, in the hope of seeing peace restored to the royal family, justice administered according to the laws, and the favours of the prince bestowed with more equality upon those who merited them. Several balls and other rejoicings took place at Bourdeaux, during his illness, which denoted clearly the hatred entertained for a minister who only favoured such as were willing to live and die his slaves. And yet even these were not all overcome by their grief or fear of the future ; Chateauneuf, at all times submissive to his will, danced at one of these balls, and that when the cardinal believed everybody was wearying heaven with prayers for his recovery : but such a dereliction was not likely to be forgotten or forgiven ; it was one of the principal causes of Chateauneuf's ruin.

The queen did not think it necessary to remain long at Bourdeaux, although the cardinal was still in great danger ; she, therefore, departed for La Rochelle, with the intention of returning to Paris by that route. During her sojourn at Bourdeaux, the Duke d'Epernon had made the guards he had in his quality of governor of the province

lay aside their uniforms and muskets, and had stripped himself of all the insignia of his post; but, when the queen was gone, he did not think it was necessary to render the cardinal an honour which was only due to the sovereign. Going, therefore, to pay a visit to the minister, who was a little better, he was accompanied to the door of his lodging by his guards, in their uniforms, and with their muskets on their shoulders. The cardinal's people, accustomed to make others tremble, flew to arms, whilst the duke, heedless of the confusion his coming had created, proceeded to the sick man's antechamber to inquire after his health. The cardinal desired him to be informed that he was still so ill that he hoped he would excuse his not receiving him. From that time the duke continued to be so accompanied, and when the cardinal set out for Broûage, he attended him to the vessel with his guards and a number of the nobility of the province, as if to do him honour. The cardinal was, it is said, made to believe that the duke had formed some design against his person; and that from that visit he had never thought himself safe at Bourdeaux. But if the duke had entertained such an idea, why did he not execute it? he was the stronger, and much better beloved at Bourdeaux than the cardinal was; besides, the Cardinal de la Valette, the duke's son, never left Richelieu's bedside during the whole of his illness. Two such men could not be left in so peculiar a position without attracting attention to their conduct. Every one knew they were not friends, and at the same time could not forget the report of D'Epernon having afforded Ravallac an opportunity for striking the second blow, at the assassination of Henry IV. There can be no doubt that mistrust was mutually entertained, but, most likely, actual crime existed only in the imagination of their friends and the people.

When the queen left Bourdeaux, the cardinal deputed his *cousin, the Marquis de Meilleray*, to accompany her, and

do the honours at the castle he was building at Richelieu, a place he afterwards made very beautiful. Before he was quite recovered, he was carried to Brouage, where, his mind being more at ease, his health was speedily re-established. He then immediately departed for Paris, the king coming to Rochefort, ten leagues from the capital, to meet him.

Whilst the cardinal was in Languedoc, ten men were arrested at Paris, accused of having come there by the orders of the queen-mother, for the purpose of carrying off Madame de Combalet, and conveying her into Flanders. Among these men was a nephew of Father Chanteloube, a favourite of the queen-mother's, and likewise one of her valets de chambre. It was said she wished to get the cardinal's niece into her power, in order to facilitate her own return to France, and to prevent the marriage of either the Count de Soissons or the duke of Orleans with that lady. The king, on learning these men were in prison, sent orders for their trial, and wrote a highly complimentary letter to Madame de Combalet, which finished by a protestation, that if she had been carried off, he would have marched into Flanders, at the head of fifty thousand men, to deliver her.

This lady had, till this time, lived in an hotel adjoining the Luxembourg, which the queen-mother had given to the cardinal, upon condition that she should resume it at pleasure upon the payment of fifty thousand livres. When she quarrelled with the prelate, she wished to have her hotel back again; but upon the contract being produced, she found it was *crowns* instead of livres, and instead of when she *wished it*, it was *when the king wished it*. The queen-mother declared that she had never meant to make such a preposterous agreement, and pronounced it a forgery. She appealed to the king, but he, to mortify her, desired that the cardinal should retain possession. This irritated that princess greatly, but she was still more enraged when she learnt, after her departure from France,

that La Combalet dwelt in the disputed residence, and there received the visits of people of the highest rank, who paid court to her uncle by going to see her. It was believed, that on account of this, and of her having presumed to make alterations in the house, for which part of the walls of Mary's own palace of the Luxembourg were taken down, the queen-mother formed the violent resolution of having her carried off: but there was no doubt that these alterations were effected by the orders of her uncle, as she was not naturally of a disposition to offend the queen-mother wantonly. After the discovery of the intended violence, she did not think herself in safety in that house, but went to reside at the cardinal's hotel, and left home very seldom.

The duke of Orleans conceived that when the king had written to him, "That if he ventured to march a step towards Roussillon, it would cost the life of the Duke de Montmorenci," he had tacitly made him a promise to spare that nobleman: therefore, when he heard of his execution, he considered it a rupture of the treaty by which he was bound. Irritated likewise by the reports with which his dependents constantly fed him, he left Tours secretly on the 6th of November, and, on the 12th, wrote a very strong expostulatory letter to the king, from a place on his own route, in which he complained in no measured terms of the infraction of the treaty, and of the whole of his brother's conduct. The king returned an answer in the same tone, and Monsieur, not having the courage to proceed to Roussillon, retired through Champagne to the Netherlands, and was warmly welcomed at Brussels, though the Spanish ministers attached very little consequence to his discontent, being persuaded that Richelieu could lure him back whenever it became his policy to do so. As for the queen-mother, under pretence of requiring change of air, she set out for Malmes the day before his arrival. She was angry with him, and not

without cause, for in the last treaty with his brother, so far from supporting her interests, he had never even mentioned her name. He followed her, but he could not prevail upon her to return to Brussels ; she had resolved to go and reside at Ghent. A squabble, for it is hardly worth while to seek a higher designation for such affairs, took place between the queen's favourite priest and Gaston's favourite companion of his pleasures, and these worthy persons contrived to sow a dissension between their patrons, which gave the cardinal greater facilities for thwarting their designs than he could have had if they had remained united.

Gaston sent his reasons for leaving the kingdom to the kings of Spain and England, and requested their support. The king had already sent an ambassador into Spain, to complain of the assistance rendered to his brother, and to justify France for that given to the king of Sweden. A short time after this, intelligence was received of the death of Gustavus Adolphus, who was killed on the 6th of November, at the battle of Lutzen, which his army gained after his death. It then became evident in France, that if the Swedes were not more vigorously supported in Germany, the house of Austria would triumph over their party, and several persons were sent to urge the Protestant princes to be more zealous in their own cause.

At the beginning of the year 1633, the king held a council upon the affairs of Germany, in which, after a long speech from the cardinal, involving the interests of France with all Europe, those of the queen-mother and the duke of Orleans, and not forgetting his own, he, and with him the council, concluded that all possible means should be employed to keep up the war in Germany and in the Low Countries, against the house of Austria, without declaring it openly on the part of France ; and for this purpose it was determined ambassadors extraordinary should be sent to the emperor, the Catholic and Protestant

electors, and the united provinces, to exhort them to continue the war vigorously. This was done, and every means were employed to induce the Swedish generals, Baudessen and Horn, to surrender to France the places they occupied in the electorates of Cologne and Mayence. France began to be desirous of possessing all on her own side of the Rhine, and if Mayence were hers, Strasbourg and other places would most likely follow.

After the cardinal's return to Paris, he one day sent for Gondi, the Florentine resident, and after talking of other matters, came to his real purpose, and introduced the subject of the queen-mother. He asked Gondi what he thought of an idea it was said the queen had formed of going into Italy; and upon Gondi's saying he had never heard she intended quitting the Netherlands, the cardinal continued by saying, that the imprudence and fury of Father Chanteloube having obliged the king to require the infanta to give him up, that man had become so terrified that he had persuaded the queen to retire from the Low Countries, because he did not think himself safe there. The queen-mother had, in consequence of this, requested a place of refuge from the king of England, but, at the entreaty of the king, her son, it had been denied her. She had then begged the same king to allow her to come to Plymouth, on her way to Spain, and that he would furnish her with a vessel, to transport her to that country. But that prince, being assured that if she once set foot in England she would remain there, replied, that he would willingly furnish her with vessels, if he were certain that the king of Spain would receive her, and that France would not be offended by such a step. Spain had declared it was ready to receive her, but the king was so moved by pity at her condition, and at her being denied an asylum by the English, that he was at a loss what to resolve upon. "This *poor woman*," so the cardinal termed *her*, "*had brought all these misfortunes upon herself by*

her own obstinacy and by adopting the evil counsels of others; her obstinacy was so great that she said she neither repented of what she had done, nor ever should."

After having feigned to feel great compassion for her, he added: "it was not improbable that England would grant her vessels to convey her to a country where the clemency of the king, and his *filial affection* for her would be able to yield her assistance, without prejudice to the state, and where he, the cardinal, could do for her all he wished. He could not believe she would stop in Spain, and England being closed against her, he thought it not improbable that she might have an intention of going to Florence, provided the Grand Duke were willing to receive her." He then asked Gondi if he could give him any information on the subject; and the resident replied that he had no means of knowing what might be the queen's views, but he could positively declare that the Grand Duke was not aware of her having such an intention, and, as the king's affection for his mother could not be doubted, nobody ought to feel anxiety on her account. To which the cardinal replied: that if the queen were willing to return to her native country for a short time, until she had become reconciled with the king, his majesty would have no objection to the Grand Duke's receiving her, and would not disapprove of the conduct of the queen, when she would be in a country in which she could not abuse his favours.

The cardinal added, that if she obtained footing in England, he was certain she would not be easily induced to leave that country. He would say no more on the subject, having made an opening, of which the Grand Duke was at liberty to consider. On his part, he was resolved never to come to an accommodation with her until he had thoroughly humbled her, and compelled her to act as he pleased. At that time it was of consequence to induce her to leave the Spanish territories, and to try

to persuade her to go to Florence, in order that she might be no obstacle to the treaties it might be convenient to make with Spain. Whilst she and Monsieur were in their territories, no treaty could be made that excluded them; and the cardinal said it was their duty to submit themselves to the good pleasure of their king, and allow him to punish all who had followed them. Thus no means were spared to make them leave the Spanish territories. The Prince de Condé was sent to Burgundy to force the parliament of Dijon, to try the Duke d'Elbœuf, Puylaurens, Caudrai, Montpensier, and other of the duke's servants. They were condemned to death, as rebels; they were executed in effigy, and their goods confiscated.

A short time after this, the king took the seals from Chateaufort, who had served the cardinal so usefully by making his office subservient to his violences. The causes of this disgrace were not publicly spoken of, because most of them were connected personally with the minister, and not with the state. Some attributed his fall to his attachment to that universal *intrigante*, the Duchess de Chevreuse, for whom the cardinal, notwithstanding occasional outbreaks, evidently entertained an affection. At a moment when his jealousy was awakened against Chateaufort, he, unfortunately, discovered some letters to the duchess from that minister, in which he found himself ridiculed in the most outrageous manner. It was added that the cardinal had been informed that Chateaufort had danced at a ball at Bourdeaux, when the minister was supposed to be dying. But the principal cause no doubt was that the keeper of the seals had flattered himself he was on the road to become prime-minister, and had even entered into some intrigues to that end. To thwart the cardinal in love and power, and to wound his vanity, was indeed crossing the lion's path, and the seals were given to Seguier, and Chateaufort was sent prisoner to the Castle of Angoulême, accused of exciting cabals in the court.

Several of his friends were placed in the Bastille, and among them the Chevalier Jars, who was accused of having persuaded the queen-mother and Monsieur to pass over into England. As there was no proof of this, the cardinal adopted an extraordinary method of discovering whether this man had been mixed up with this intrigue. He not only put him in prison, but he ordered the judges who tried him to condemn him, with or without proof of guilt,—to have his head cut off, giving them his word that the sentence should not be carried into effect, if he were innocent. He was, accordingly, condemned, his sentence was read to him, and being upon the scaffold, after having offered up his prayers without confessing anything, and placed himself in the posture to receive the fatal blow, he was astonished by hearing the cry of “Pardon!” As he descended the steps of the scaffold, one of the judges exhorted him, after having thus experienced the clemency of the king, to divulge the intrigues of Chateauneuf; but he courageously replied that it was evident he wished to take advantage of his situation to make him say something disadvantageous to his friend; but he must know that since the terrible image of death had not been able to make him speak, nothing could draw from his mouth the secrets of his friends, or anything that might injure them. This was almost the only one of those the cardinal brought to the scaffold who showed any firmness; most of them, as it were, made him the *amende honorable*, under the pretence of dying like Christians. Christianity might induce them to pardon him, but could not teach them to sanction crime with their dying breath. But what an awful picture does this incident reveal of the state of a country subjected to the wicked will of one man! If a minister had ventured upon such a vile trick in England, at this period, we feel satisfied *his* execution would not have been a mockery. It is a curious circumstance that at a time when there

might be said to be no law in France, the most eminent writers upon international and national laws were prosecuting their immortal labours in several countries—at the very moment Grotius was the Swedish representative in France, and being no favourite with the cardinal, had abundance of leisure for his studies. Was this a natural consequence of the want of laws being felt by great minds?

When Chateauneuf was sent to prison, Marshal d'Etrées, who was one of his most intimate friends, hearing of the circumstance, at Trêves, where he commanded an army, was seized with such a panic, that he quitted the army secretly, and retired to Vaudrevange. The arrival of a courier, bearing despatches for two other officers, and none to him, brought the fate of Marshal de Marillac to his mind, and he feared these officers had orders to arrest him. But learning there was no foundation for his alarm, he, four days after, sent a gentleman to the king and the cardinal, to ask their pardon for his flight, and ingenuously to confess the fear which had dictated it. His panic furnished matter of laughter for the court, and he received orders to return to Trêves. The Duchess de Chevreuse was, at the same time, banished from the court, by an order from the king, which gives us additional reason to think that jealousy had something to do with the disgrace of Chateauneuf.

At a sitting of the parliament of Paris, in April, the king took an opportunity of rebuking that assembly for having dared to send deputies to St. Germain, to request him to recall the President de Mêmes, whom the cardinal had banished. The king said he would never fail to chastise those who refused to obey him; and if the parliament would not suffer the magistrates, who were subordinate to it, to execute his orders, it was not just to expect the monarch to countenance the disobedience of *his subjects*. He added that he insisted upon being

obeyed instantly, and for the future, when he should come to the parliament, he required four presidents should receive him on their knees, outside the door of the chamber, as was formerly done. As for the President de Mêmes, instead of being recalled, he was sent prisoner to the citadel of Angers. Thus the king prohibited the possibility of any remonstrance being offered to him, and, by endeavouring to reign more absolutely than his predecessors had done, he gave himself up entirely to the passions of his minister, however unjust they might be, without having any means of being rendered aware of their iniquity. Father Griffet has said that the best history of Richelieu is the history of the reign of Louis XIII., and this is true; for, from 1624 to 1642, the time of the death of both king and minister, it is impossible to separate their public acts, and the cardinal made his own ambition and interests so much affairs of state, that whoever writes his life must write history. But, let us hope few will write it as Father Griffet himself did; the pen of the historian is never so disgraced as when it eulogises ably-executed crime, and holds up policy for example and admiration, which had nothing to recommend it but short-lived success.

Soon after this, the king held a general chapter of the knights of the Holy Ghost, and gave the *cordobleu* to the cardinals De Richelieu and De la Valette. They received the insignia standing, whilst the other commanders, and even the bishops, received them on their knees. The king likewise paid the cardinal the compliment to ask him whether he would be promoted before vespers or after; and, the next day, when his majesty banqueted the new knights, he sent the cardinal two or three dishes of each course from his own table, and at the dessert a rock of sweetmeats, from which spouted a fountain of Eau de Naphe.

Whilst all these honours were being lavished on him at

home, the cardinal was busy in endeavouring to employ the house of Austria so completely with its own foreign affairs, as to leave it no time to interfere with those of the queen-mother and Monsieur. The league made with the late king of Sweden was renewed with the famous Chancellor Oxenstiern, one of the few men of the time able to cope with Richelieu; it was he who insisted upon Grotius being the Swedish ambassador at the court of France, in opposition to the desire of the cardinal: Oxenstiern knew he must have a man of ability at that post. Richelieu, naturally, desired his absence. France promised to pay Christina, the daughter of Gustavus, a million of livres per annum to continue the war in Germany. The two crowns bound themselves to make no treaty but by common consent, and to support each others allies.

The cardinal likewise was anxious to break the negotiation which was then going on at the Hague, between the states-general of the United Provinces and the envoys of the Spanish Netherlands, concerning a second truce between the king of Spain and the states-general. As there were great obstacles in the affair itself, it did not appear difficult to keep up the war. In addition to this, some nobles of the Spanish Netherlands, discontented with the government, offered to place in the hands of the French, Bouchain, Quesnoi, Avesnes, and Landreci, important places on the frontiers of Artois, and to excite a general revolt in that country. The malcontents told the king that if he let such an opportunity escape him, he would never recover it; and that they who were willing to place themselves in his hands could not live in a perpetual state of inquietude, and in danger of being discovered.

The cardinal told the king in council, "that Henry IV. would never have let such an opportunity slip, but regard must be paid to the times. The king was childless, and Monsieur, the presumptive heir, was in Flanders

with the queen-mother. The health of the king was not strong enough to allow him to engage in a war which must cause him much fatigue of both body and mind. It would be necessary for the court to remove from Paris. The king's finances were exhausted. Zealous Catholics were louder than ever in denouncing wars made in favour of heretics. Considerable armies must, at the same time, be kept up in Champagne and Italy, as they had strong reasons for distrusting the dukes of Lorraine and Savoy. The character of the French was to become equally weary of long war or peace. The king being engaged in a foreign war, the governors of provinces would be the more easily led to declare for the duke of Orleans. The least ill-success, such as the loss of a place or of a battle, was capable of causing great excitement in the state. *If the king were to fall sick, his servants would be lost beyond redemption.* Thus, although it might appear that advantages might be derived from a rupture, it would be better to remain quiet, and be satisfied with aiding the enemies of Spain, in order to avoid having them to contend with. The money which the Dutch required to continue the war against Spain was ready; and it was only necessary for them to execute the project they had proposed, which was, that if the king would send before Dunkirk 6,000 foot, and 600 horse, they would send their army and fleet to attack that place, and afterwards to take Gravelines, which they offered to make over to France. But, nevertheless, care must be taken that these troops did not cause an open rupture; and to avoid that it would be better to send them by sea than by land."

The fact was, the cardinal preferred being busy with court intrigues and provincial wars, which amused the king, and did not take either him or the cardinal out of the kingdom, to a great, open foreign war, in which his church militant talents might be too strongly tested.

The consequence of all this, and of some after negotia-

tions with the Dutch was, that France was properly neither at open war nor at peace with the house of Austria; and the two crowns appeared disposed to adopt whichever might prove to be most advantageous. The Spaniards discovered the conspiracy of the Flemish nobles, and by the punishment of some held the others to their duty. It was a game of chess between Richelieu and the Count-duke Olivarez, who governed Spain, but Richelieu being by far the better and more unscrupulous player, the affairs of Spain became worse and worse. The old cabals were renewed, the old points of contest, such as the Valteline, Montferrat, the Grisons, Casal, Lorraine, were all thrown once more upon the political carpet. The cardinal carried things with a high hand, bullying when he thought himself safe in doing so, but more frequently employing the resources of his artful genius.

France complained that the duke of Lorraine made daily infractions in the treaty of Liverdun; it was said that after levying troops, he had disbanded them on the frontiers, in order that they might pass into the service of the king of Spain, and that he even permitted the Spaniards to levy troops in his states. He had surprised Molsheim, and ravaged the territories of Strasbourg, Deux-Ponts, and Sarbruk. He had obtained Savern and Dackstein from the emperor, as payment of an old debt of two hundred thousand crowns. But what most offended the cardinal was, that in the preceding year Monsieur had consummated his marriage with the Princess Marguerite, second sister of the duke, which had been so secretly done that even Monsieur's domestics knew nothing of the matter. The Count de Vandemont and the Princess de Phalsbourg had brought about this marriage, and it was kept secret for a length of time. Although the duke of Lorraine had renounced all connections that might be displeasing to the king, particularly that with the duke of Orleans, he had never ceased to keep it up privately;

and the cardinal, who wished to reduce Monsieur to entire dependence upon himself, and who looked upon him as the principal support of the queen-mother, could not pardon those who assisted him in any way.

Things were in this state when the king sent Guron to the duke of Lorraine to reproach him with the infractions of the treaty of Liverdun, and to demand satisfaction. The duke being warned of his coming, concealed himself so effectually in Nanci, then his place of residence, that Guron could not discover him, and returned without performing his commission. Shortly, however, repenting of this foolish trick, he sent word to Guron that he would be on a certain day at Luneville; but the French envoy took no notice of his message.

This made the king resolve to treat him as a rebellious vassal, and to confiscate his duchy of Bar, for which he had not done homage.

The proximity of the Swedes furnished the duke with a pretext for raising a body of eight thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, in the hope of being powerfully aided by the duke of Feria. These forces in a very short time came in contact with the Swedes, and were completely defeated near Haguenau, and the duke, terrified by this event and by the preparations of the king, who was marching towards Lorraine, sent his brother the cardinal to meet him. On his arrival at Château-Thierry, the prince was tolerably well received by the king and queen. The next day the cardinal-duke waited on him, and offered him abundance of civilities; but he gave him little hopes with regard to the affairs of the duke, his brother. It was in vain for the Cardinal de Lorraine to declare that his brother meant to observe the treaty of Liverdun, or to endeavour to excuse the infractions he was reproached with; the minister of Louis XIII. coldly replied, that he was sorry to see that effects did not agree with promises, and that the king being on his march, he

was not prepared to go into the discussion of political affairs; in a few days his majesty would be at Bar, and then the duke of Lorraine, being nearer to his majesty, might decide whether he would prefer mildness or force, on the part of the king of France, to secure his future good conduct. The Cardinal de Lorraine said that his brother was ready to deliver to the French all the places he held in Alsace; but that was not sufficient. Richelieu replied, that in order to make himself certain the duke would not again break his word, the king meant to place a French garrison in Nanci, the most considerable city of his states. The cardinal of Lorraine then offered, on the part of his brother, to consent to the dissolution of the marriage of Monsieur with his sister, and to ask pardon for that offence. But the cardinal-duke replied, that such a reparation was not equal to the fault, and that his majesty was determined to place it out of the duke's power to break his word again. The king required Nanci to be placed in his hands, as a pledge which would be forfeited the moment the duke undertook anything against France. The cardinal of Lorraine replied, that this would be requiring his brother to give up the rest of his states, as such pledges were never made; it would be an act of baseness for a prince to despoil himself of his territories by the way of negotiation; it was too great a misfortune to lose honour and territories at the same time; the most disastrous war could produce nothing worse. Lorraine was situated between France and the States of the House of Austria, and the dukes of Lorraine were under the necessity of cultivating the friendship of both parties. The pledge proposed would so irritate the emperor, of whom the duchy of Lorraine was held in fief, that he would confiscate it, and place the duke without the ban of the empire, which happening when the king was otherwise engaged, he would not be able to assist him.

All these reasons, however specious, made no impres-

sion upon Richelieu, who was determined to ruin the house of Lorraine: the cardinal returned with the evil tidings to his brother, and the French army continued its march. The cardinal-duke strongly urged the king not to lose the opportunity of conquering Lorraine, if the duke made the least difficulty of giving up the places he demanded. The king and his minister arrived at Dizier, on the frontier of Lorraine, on the 23rd of August, to which place the Cardinal de Lorraine sent a confidential messenger to say, that his brother and he would consent to place Nanci as a pledge in the hands of the French king, if the Cardinal de Richelieu would give him, the cardinal, his niece, Madame de Combalet, in marriage. Whether the Cardinal de Richelieu fancied this was a feint, or had some other reasons for not falling in with the proposal, he politely thanked the cardinal for the honour he did him, and said, he should be sorry to have it believed that he had induced the king to go into Lorraine for the purpose of serving his personal interests, as would be the case if he accepted for his niece the honour offered to her. The duke of Lorraine must, in the first place, give the king entire satisfaction; after that, his majesty would consider whether this marriage would be advantageous to his service; he himself would defer the matter till then.

To the king, Richelieu urged immediate action. If he did not make up his mind, he said, to attack the duke of Lorraine at once, there was no appearance of a probability of doing it for a length of time. Nanci was a place of considerable strength, regularly fortified, and secure from being taken by force this campaign. It would require seven or eight months to reduce it by blockade, and during that time many things might happen; peace might be made in Germany, or a truce in Flanders, and in that case the Spaniards would be able to create a powerful diversion. To blockade Nanci would require twenty

thousand foot and three thousand horse; besides which, it would be necessary to keep up a small *corps d'armée* near the person of the king, all which would incur a great expense. On the other hand, to suffer an injury without taking vengeance for it, was, in affairs of state, to merit and receive a greater. Money was useless to his majesty if he did not employ it when necessary; that is to say, to support his reputation or to aggrandize his states. A million of gold would be all the extraordinary expenditure for this enterprise. A better opportunity never could present himself; and as to the total ruin of the duke of Lorraine, that was not to be dreaded, as the war in Germany was not over yet, neither did the Netherlands seem disposed for peace. All great enterprises have their difficulties, but this had very little, because the duke could not, with his own forces alone, make head against the king, and his allies were so occupied with their own affairs that they could not come to his succour. The duke would always be, as he then was, attached to the house of Austria, from which nothing could alienate him, and he only waited an opportunity for joining that power to the injury of France. If the duke were not ruined, the marriage of the duke of Orleans would infallibly subsist, and would be the source of eternal wars; France must always be upon her guard, not only with respect to open war, but still more against secret practices. On the contrary, by ruining the duke, the marriage of Monsieur would be broken; Puylaurens had said he should not be sorry to see Monsieur reduced to that, and Puylaurens was too much interested, and Monsieur had too little firmness to remain attached to a wife from whom neither could expect advantage. By this means Monsieur would be compelled to become reconciled to the king, by offering to take another wife; whereas, while the duke of Lorraine subsisted, Monsieur would never think of being reconciled. Nanci was the best rampart that France could, on

that side, oppose to the enterprises of the house of Austria; and she would be relieved from all she had to dread from the implacable hatred of the duke of Lorraine, by taking that place. We feel we are trespassing upon our allotted space, and perhaps upon the patience of our readers, by repeating these long speeches of the cardinal; but our object is to show his character, and how can that be better done than by hearing him himself? How historians became so exactly masters of what he said only constitutes a part of the great mystery on that head which hangs over all histories, from that of Herodotus to that of Macaulay.

The king approving of the minister's councils for the conquest of Lorraine, advanced as far as Pont-à-Mousson. The duke and his brother offered all kinds of concessions, and attempted all evasions, but the king was firm, and the cardinal-duke more than a match for him of Lorraine. The cardinal of Lorraine offered to give up the Princess Marguerite, with three fortresses; the king had no objection to receive the princess under his protection, but nothing would satisfy him without Nanci. The duke then offered to make over his states to his brother, to which Richelieu replied: he did not think the king would be opposed to such a resignation, and indeed, had reason to wish for it, because his past conduct gave reason to hope that he would be better disposed towards France: but that would not remedy the evil, as the duke was so exceedingly changeable that he might feel inclined to resume his territories, which would be extremely easy for him to do, by recovering Nanci, when the king might be engaged elsewhere. By this it was evident to the Cardinal de Lorraine that it was impossible to save Nanci.

“When Greek meets Greek, then comes the tug of war,” and it is more than instructive—it is amusing, to watch the manœuvres of these two churchmen in such a serious struggle. Lorraine's stake was even more impor-

tant than that of Richelieu; it was nothing less than the heritage of his ancient and noble family. We, who have been so long accustomed to see Richelieu's measures succeed, feel a little gratified at relating an instance in which his fellow of the barrette completely checkmated him. He had requested passports of the king, to enable him to come and go, and allow means of egress from the city for his equipage and servants; which had been granted. Reflecting that the Princess Marguerite was the principal cause of the war, he had reason to apprehend she might be in danger if Nanci were taken, and resolved to attempt to effect her escape, and send her to her husband in Flanders. He disguised her in man's apparel, and took her in one of his carriages out of the city. Then an old gentleman and two soldiers, in the dress of lackeys, conducted her through part of the royal army, without raising suspicion. They travelled twelve leagues in the course of the night, and arrived at dawn at Thoinville, a place belonging to the king of Spain. From thence she wrote to the Infanta, the queen-mother and Monsieur, to request an equipage and an escort to enable her to reach Brussels. The duke of Orleans learnt this news with much joy, and the queen-mother with very little less, although she was not on good terms with him, because she fancied that having a daughter-in-law opposed to the party of the cardinal, she might, in the end, triumph over all his artifices. Everything was sent to madame, that she desired, and Monsieur went as far as Namur to meet her.

The king and the cardinal learnt the escape of the princess with great displeasure, both with regard to the consequences, and from the idea of having been duped by the Cardinal de Lorraine. The king sent word to the cardinal that negotiations being at an end, he revoked the passports he had given him, and if he did not wish

to become a prisoner of war, he had better remain in the city.

The light and fickle duke of Lorraine, however eager for the preservation of Nanci, had not placed it in a proper state of defence; so that after disappointments of succour and negotiations, tricks and evasions, the cardinal, his brother, on the 6th of September, signed a treaty by which he promised to surrender Nanci in three days, to be held by the king, with what garrison he pleased, as a pledge, till the good conduct of the duke, or peace in Germany, should have convinced his majesty he had nothing to apprehend from that quarter. The duke likewise consented that the marriage of the Princess Marguerite should be annulled in due form, and that she should be placed in the king's power within a fortnight. The Cardinal de Lorraine demanded permission of the king to go to his brother, for the purpose of getting the treaty ratified. The king, in the mean time, took Charmes, and the duke retired to Remeremont, from which place he sent back his brother, to try to obtain more favourable terms. But not receiving the succours he expected, he formed the unequalled imprudent design of going to treat with the king in person. Having demanded a passport, it was sent to him at once, and he arrived at Charmes on the 18th of September, with eight hundred horse. There he negotiated for three days with the Cardinals de Richelieu and Bichi, and, as might be expected, when in such hands, on the third, signed the treaty entirely to the satisfaction of his enemies.

With the weak cunning of such characters, the duke imagined, after he had signed the treaty he should be allowed to retire, without, at the moment, surrendering Nanci to the king, and had forbidden the Marquis de Moüy, who commanded in the place for him, to open the gates, whatever letters he might write to him, unless he

saw a certain mark which they had agreed upon. Thus, although he wrote orders for the gates to be opened to the king's troops, as the mark was not affixed to the letter, the governor refused to obey. But he forgot he had to deal with Richelieu : the cardinal had a suspicion that he wanted to be gone, and, under the pretence of treating him like a royal prince, placed guards round the house he lodged in. The duke soon perceived this, and upon inquiry, was plainly informed of the reason for doing it, so that no longer having any hopes of escape, he wrote to Nanci, with the proper mark upon the letter, and the garrison the king thought necessary marched into the place on the 24th of September, occupying all the important posts, erecting a sort of fort upon the bastions of the old city, and disarming the inhabitants, who were too well disposed towards the duke. The acquisition of Nanci was of the greatest importance, from its proximity to Germany, and the duke of Lorraine was, from that time, obliged to go wherever France desired.

The cardinal-duke being at Charmes, was desirous of seeing whether the offer of the Cardinal de Lorraine to marry his niece was sincere ; and with this view, he paid extraordinary civilities to Chamvallen, who had interested himself in this marriage, in order to engage him to resume the negotiations. As in renouncing his cardinal's hat, the Lorraine prince would be obliged to give up his ecclesiastical property, it would be necessary to provide him with the means of keeping up his dignity. The cardinal promised his niece a large dowry, and to make her heiress of the greater part of his wealth ; but he required the duke of Lorraine to give to his brother territories that would produce a yearly revenue of a hundred thousand crowns, to enable him to support the title of duke, which would pass, with the said revenue, to the descendants of the Cardinal de Lorraine, even if the duke should have children. If the duke consented to this, the Cardinal de Richelieu

would undertake to persuade the king to restore to him the duchy of Bar, for which he should do homage, not in the name of his wife, as had been pretended, but as heir ; upon condition, nevertheless, that he should immediately after yield this duchy to his brother, that he should assign the hundred thousand crowns upon his dependencies, and that in case it was not sufficient to produce this revenue, he should join to it some other neighbouring estates ; as, on the contrary, if it were more than sufficient, he should retain the surplus. The cardinal would not himself mention the affair to the king, but caused it to be broached by some other ministers of the state, and there is reason to believe it would have been carried into effect, if the duke of Lorraine could have been persuaded to dismember his states to the extent required of him. But the king, being master of Nanci, was anxious to return to Paris, and the negotiation was interrupted.

CHAPTER IX.

Troubles with the Queen-Mother and Gaston—The duke of Lorraine at Paris—Richelieu persecutes his benefactress, Mary de Medici—Richelieu as a financier—Affairs of Lorraine—Mary anxious to return to France, opposed by the Cardinal—Return of Gaston.

It had appeared, in the spring, that the cardinal was desirous of sending the queen-mother to Italy, and the duke of Florence had expressed himself willing to invite her, if the king thought proper ; but the cardinal perceiving that the war in the Netherlands was carried on with as much warmth as ever, changed his mind ; because from that time he ceased to have any fear of the Spaniards,

and fancied that that princess would only embarrass them by remaining in the Netherlands. Mary de Medici was ill during the summer, and the king sent to make inquiries after her health, as much for the sake of fathoming her designs, as for the purpose of paying her in appearance a mark of duty which he could not with decency avoid. This encouraged the queen-mother to write to her son, and to hint at reconciliation ; but as, instead of evincing any desire of being reconciled to the cardinal, she spoke of him in more injurious terms than ever, there was little hope of her returning to France.

Attempts were likewise made to procure the recall of Gaston, but the Lorraine marriage was an insuperable obstacle to reconciliation with him.

On his return from Lorraine, the king made some stay at Metz, during which the parliament of that city condemned a man named Alfeston to be broken alive upon the wheel. He confessed to having formed the design of killing the Cardinal de Richelieu, if he passed by a certain place. He had not long returned from Brussels, in company with two others, who had been in the queen-mother's guards, and he had even come upon a horse belonging to her equerry. It was said that on his way to the scaffold, he accused Father Chanteloube, and the parliament consequently cited him and several others. At the same time, out of respect for the queen-mother, as they said, but in reality to defame her, her horse was sent back to her, and she was entreated not to allow such evil designs to be formed in her household ; because, in addition to the person of the cardinal being extremely dear to the king, such scoundrels as the man who was executed were capable of undertaking other attempts of the same nature. This only served to aggravate an animosity which was already excessive, the Father Chanteloube being the principal confidant of the queen-mother. To secure the life of the *cardinal* against similar dangers, the king gave him, in

addition to the guard he already had, a company of a hundred musketeers, whom he selected himself from a great number of persons anxious to be of this body.

It was believed that the cardinal by no means desired the queen-mother to return to court, as he felt convinced, from what had passed, his life would not be safe if she were there. This was certainly a strange, unscrupulous age; Mary was of the same race and country as the Catherine of the last, but does not this story read like one of those plots got up by the novelists of the present day, and attributed to Richelieu? There was not a single part of the scheme that could not have been conceived by the cardinal, and carried out by his ever-ready creatures: as to the sacrifice of life, that was nothing.

Chanteloube and Richelieu, unconsciously on the part of the former, played into each other's hands. The first of these two worthy churchmen was not willing to enjoy a barren favouritism, and persuaded the queen to remain in Flanders till something substantial with regard to position and revenues were offered to her; the king, he said, must come to that. Richelieu, aware of this, advised the king to remain inflexible, because his authority was in question, and that would be sensibly diminished if he permitted the queen-mother to capitulate with him; if she returned, she must leave everything to his generosity. It was true some people might blame him for allowing his mother to remain so long out of the kingdom, and his majesty might, and naturally did feel regret at the circumstance; but he must recollect he was a king as well as a son, and he ought to be more anxious to secure the welfare of the state than to satisfy the passions and caprices of the queen-mother. By this maxim, which supposed that the welfare of the state was incompatible with the satisfaction of Mary de Medici, he silenced in the king's breast all the pleadings of natural affection—if, indeed, they ever had abode there.

The cardinal's prime agent, Father Joseph, in a conversation with Gondi, the Florentine ambassador said, that if the queen was desirous of returning, she must begin by giving his majesty assurances that she would never again contrive plots against him, which involved, necessarily, the undisturbed continuation of the cardinal's power. If these sureties were given, Father Joseph had no doubt the king would prove how dutifully he loved her, and the cardinal would evince the same gratitude he had felt for and shown to her when they were on the best terms. The securities the king and the cardinal would require, he said, were the total abandonment of her servants, particularly Chanteloube, to the king's justice, and her own entire submission to his generosity. He then believed that his majesty, on witnessing the destruction of all who could give her evil counsels, would behave to her with the kindness of a respectful son.

Mary de Medici was not the woman to abandon her faithful servants in this manner to the vengeance of the cardinal. Richelieu knew she was not, and this apparent offer was nothing but a *ruse* to keep her out of France.

In the early part of November, she sent Villiers to the king, as if to congratulate him upon his happy return from Lorraine; but, in reality, to try if there were no possible means of obtaining his permission to return. Villiers was desired to see the king, and among the griefs her absence caused her, was to represent the affronts she daily received from Monsieur, at the instigation of Puylaurens. She implored the king, by her messenger, to be careful of his health, not only for his queen's sake, but for hers, as she would sooner die than be subjected to the tyranny of Puylaurens. She begged his majesty to believe that she had no part in the enterprises of Monsieur, and that his last journey into Languedoc had been taken without her knowledge.

The king replied he was very sorry the duke of Orleans

behaved ill to her, but she must remember she would never have fallen into these misfortunes if she had been willing to follow the salutary counsels of his faithful servants. He had, he said, formerly believed she had an affection for him, but she had of late exhibited so much ill-will towards him, that he could not convince himself that she loved him so warmly as she said she did. He was perfectly well acquainted, he added, of the share she had had in the affair of Languedoc, since he knew she had pledged her jewels to arm the rebels. He was sorry to feel that if his mother returned to France, there could be no safety for him; the ill-intentioned people around her would recommence their cabals more zealously than ever.

He asked Villiers if he had orders to see the cardinal; Villiers replied that he had not, but that if he met him, he should salute him, although his mistress still entertained the same feelings towards him. The king said, if the queen loved her eldest son as she said she did, she would also love the cardinal for the eminent services he had rendered the crown; but whilst she had about her such people as Chanteloube and the Du Fargès, he could not look for any reconciliation. Villiers replied, that the queen was perfectly aware of the character of the Du Fargès; and the king exclaimed, she was one of those vipers of Lyons, who, with the Duke de Bellegarde, Marillac, the keeper of the seals, and other *canaille*, had led the queen-mother to do all she had done.

It was evident, from Villiers' account, that the queen-mother was seriously irritated against Puylaurens, and the cardinal hoped to draw advantages from that circumstance which would induce Monsieur's favourite to return to his duty, and make his master more moderate in his demands; but he learnt, by the same means, that she was as violent as ever in her resentment against him. The queen, however, upon receiving some propositions from France,

charged her envoy to tell the king, that to prove how dearly she loved him, she would forget all the griefs the cardinal had caused her, and would even entertain a kindness for him for his majesty's sake. She could not consent to abandon the lowest of her servants, much less Chanteloube, who had counselled her in matters of the greatest importance; but he should retire of his own accord from the queen's service when the king should command him to do so. If it were possible for the reconciliation to take place, she should wish it to be separate, without mixing it with that of Monsieur; and that Puylaurens had informed her it might be so.

When dismissing Villiers, the king told him he was grieved at the annoyances the queen experienced in Flanders; but, if she examined her own conduct, she would find that she must attribute them all to herself. If she would give up her evil counsellors to the punishment they merited, and would respect the faithful servants of the crown, he might be led to believe she was no longer in the bad state of mind in which she had left France. He had seen, he added, a letter written by Chanteloube, in which he said she would never be reconciled to the cardinal, and had laughed at Villiers' visit; whilst the queen retained such a hypocrite as that about her, nobody could place faith in her promises. All the creatures of the cardinal were directed to make speeches to Villiers to the same effect. The queen-mother must give up all her servants to the anger of the minister, and must receive others at his hands; and every one acquainted with the character of Mary de Medici, knew she would never be reduced to that. If the king spoke ill of Father Chanteloube, the queen took her revenge by abusing the cardinal in unmeasured terms; and the Abbé de St. Germain, her secretary, published daily cruel satires against him, many volumes of which are still in existence.

Towards the end of the year the Cardinal de Lorraine

came to Paris on his brother's affairs, and to renew the subject of his marriage with the niece of the Cardinal de Richelieu. The Lorraine prince was anxious to conclude the business, as the welfare of his house was deeply concerned in it. He obtained permission of the cardinal to see his niece, and was extremely pleased with her. Nothing more was necessary, but the conditions on both sides. Richelieu insisted upon the cardinal's having a revenue of a hundred thousand crowns, with the title of Duke de Bar; and the Cardinal de Lorraine required that, in consideration of this marriage, all that had been taken from his brother should be restored to him. The house of Lorraine likewise believed that this union might bring the king to acknowledge the marriage of Monsieur with the Princess Marguerite: but there were many obstacles in the way of all this.

The Duke de Lorraine had an unconquerable aversion to France, and to the cardinal, who had been the cause of his being plundered, and was not at all the man to adopt a plan, because it seemed to be the most safe. He had, moreover, many disputes with France regarding boundaries; and that power did itself justice by force of arms. The Cardinal de Lorraine had been promised for a long time to a princess of his house, the sister of the duchess, and she must be sent to a nunnery. On the other side, it appeared very little to the glory of the king to restore everything to the duke of Lorraine, after so much trouble and expense, merely in consideration of the marriage of the niece of the first minister. It was also to be feared by the latter, that it would be said he arranged affairs for his own advantage at the expense of the crown, and that the king might entertain some jealousy at the aggrandisement of his house. Monsieur's marriage was likewise an embarrassing affair; as there could be no hopes of a perfectly good understanding with the house of Lorraine whilst its nullity was maintained.

But nothing could be effected by the cardinal without artifice, and, although he earnestly wished for this union, he told the Lorraine prince, with astonishing coolness and self-possession, that his niece was still desirous to become a nun, and he found it impossible to remove that inclination from her mind. This was only to stimulate the Lorraine princes, whom he did not think sufficiently determined upon the matter, to allow him to obtain the conditions he wished; and, above all, to ascertain whether the house of Lorraine could resolve to allow their places to remain in the hands of the king. The Cardinal de Lorraine, perceiving Richelieu's design, determined to meet cunning with cunning, and affected equal coldness on his part. He went into Lorraine to wait for his answer, not without, however, leaving agents at court, to act secretly in support of his cause. If a favourable conclusion were come to, he hoped to derive more advantageous results from it; and if the negotiation were entirely broken off, the cardinal would have no cause to complain of the house of Lorraine, which had done him the honour to seek his alliance. As he was about to depart, the cardinal-duke sent him word that, in a month, he should know whether Madame de Combalet could be induced to marry again. All the world knew that if her uncle had thought proper she should be instantly married again, particularly to a prince; she would not have required much entreaty; but the reasons we have given would not allow this marriage to be consummated hastily. The Cardinal de Lorraine set out without concluding anything, only bearing to his brother the deed of restitution of the revenues of the duchy of Bar, and a prorogation of his homage of two months.

The cabal among the servants of the royal fugitives in Flanders added greatly to the annoyances of their patrons; Chanteloube and Puylaurens, who had only their own *interests at heart*, were violently opposed to each other,

and made Mary and Gaston their tools. The queen-mother, who had at last sanctioned Gaston's marriage, gained Marguerite to her party, and induced her to try to persuade her husband to dismiss Puylaurens, which she was the more inclined to do from having cause of hatred against him herself: he had ventured to speak of dissolving her marriage. But Monsieur would not hear of such a thing, although he was informed that the cardinal had already half gained his favourite. In fact, the minister had promised him one of his convenient relations in marriage, to reassure him as to his fears, upon condition he would induce Monsieur to submit entirely to the clemency of the king, from whose bounty he was promised the most splendid reward. The principal object was to persuade Gaston to dissolve his marriage, to give up his wife to the king, conformably with the promise of her brothers, or to leave her in Flanders. Puylaurens was likewise directed to detach the prince completely from the interests of his mother, and from the party of the Spaniards. Puylaurens had won the duke of Orleans over to a great part of what was required of him, but, with his usual weakness, he could not keep the matter from his wife or his mother, and the queen, in her energetic manner, made him ashamed of a treaty in which Puylaurens so evidently wanted to gain the favour of the cardinal at the expense of his master. Puylaurens perceiving the change in the duke's intentions attributed it to Chanteloube and the queen-mother, and reproached them insolently with it; but Mary was not likely to put up with affronts of that kind, and loaded him with as bitter a reply as his presumption merited.

The Spaniards espoused the cause of the Princess Marguerite, but the infanta dying about this time, they had other business on their hands. The duke of Orleans, however, becoming evidently weary of his abode in Flanders, the queen-mother and Madame feared that

that fickle prince would abandon them both the first opportunity.

The cardinal, whose spies made him acquainted with all that was going on, caused a council to be held in the presence of the king, to consider what should be done in this conjuncture, and whether it would be proper for the king to be reconciled to the duke of Orleans. The minister, according to his custom, spoke at great length to persuade the king not to give any satisfaction to either the queen-mother or the duke. After detailing all that his searching brain could discover against both, he finished by saying: "If the queen-mother and Monsieur were both in France the next day, perfectly satisfied with the king, on their own separate accounts, and in opposition to each other, it was certain that before three months had expired, they would become discontented, and would reunite in their discontent; whereas, if Monsieur were in the kingdom, and the queen-mother banished, it would be difficult for them to maintain an injurious correspondence. The duke might return, but he must come unconditionally."

The speech of the cardinal is too verbose to allow us to give the whole of it; but its tenor may be gathered from the remark of one of the cardinal's most trustworthy biographers. "This speech," says Leclerc, "confounded the interests of the cardinal with that of the king and the state, and we shall find his reasons conclusive if we place *the cardinal* wherever he speaks of the interests of *France*, or of the *king*." Its tendency was clearly to banish Mary de Medici from the kingdom; but as it would have been too odious to say openly that the king was determined never to be reconciled to his mother, the council, in appearance, concluded just the reverse, but only in appearance, because they knew the queen-mother would never so far degrade herself as to do all they wished *her*. *She was*, in addition to other matters, required to

prove that she had no part in the late attempts at assassination, by delivering up to justice the authors of the pernicious counsels that had originated them; and then the king would allow her to return to France, restore to her the enjoyment of her dowry, and give her liberty to live in one of his houses, at a distance from the court.

After various considerations upon the complicated subject of the duke of Orleans, among which was an idea of the cardinal's, whether it would be advantageous to the state to promise the government of Maçon to Puylaurens, as a residence for himself and Monsieur, and then put him in prison, instead of keeping faith with him, it was determined to leave the duke of Orleans where he was if he would not consent to return upon the conditions the king had recently offered him. These conditions were to give him a considerable sum of money for the discharge of his debts, to re-establish him in his appanages and property, to make large grants to Puylaurens, and to give Gaston the government of Auvergne, where he and his guards would have permission to reside. If he would not return on these terms, Richelieu said he might remain in Flanders, since other means of bringing him back were neither honourable nor useful.

These conditions being proposed to the queen-mother and Monsieur, were at once rejected by both. The queen could not submit to see her servants worse treated than Monsieur's, and the duke flattered himself that much better conditions would be offered him if he refused the first. But the event proved they were mistaken, and that they would have acted much more wisely if they had consented to a reconciliation when it was offered, instead of holding out against a party infinitely stronger than theirs. By his proposals, which his knowledge of the characters he had to deal with made him certain they would not accept, the cardinal attained his object of keeping the queen-mother and Monsieur—particularly the former—

out of France as long as possible. From the moment the cardinal thought himself so secure in power as to allow him to kick away from under him the ladder by which he had gained it, it was a life-long struggle between him and Mary de Medici. In addition to the advantage of sex, Richelieu had infinitely more art, hypocrisy, and self-command than his antagonists; but Mary was strong-willed, far from void of understanding, and persistent to a surprising extent. Her want of self-control, placed in opposition to the cardinal's perfect self-possession, gives her an interest with most persons, as headstrong anger is preferable to duplicity and long-cherished revenge.

Paltry persecutions were had recourse to in order to annoy her; her arch-enemy absolutely seemed to wish to irritate her to the point of committing herself by some serious crime. The clothes and necessaries she had been accustomed to receive from France, were regularly stopped upon the frontier, and subjected to a rigorous examination. The queen-mother complained of this insult to the king, and took the opportunity of adding, that it was in vain the cardinal made use of such malicious expedients in order to produce compliance to his wishes; she was resolved never to humble herself before him.

About three months after the treaty of Charmes, as the duke of Lorraine had failed to place his sister Marguerite in the hands of the king, under the apparently valid excuse that her husband, the duke of Orleans, was unwilling to part with her, the procureur-general presented to the parliament, according to the instructions of the minister, a request to prove that the duke of Orleans had been carried off from France by the princes of Lorraine, and that consequently his marriage was null. The parliament demanded time to inquire into and deliberate upon this important affair. Very little, however, was granted, for the king and the cardinal went to the assembly on the 18th of January, 1634, to order the verification of a de-

claration by which his majesty re-established the duke of Orleans in his property and honours, provided he acknowledged his fault and returned to France within three months. The king also said he could not approve of the marriage of Monsieur, for reasons which he assigned in his declaration, and ordered the parliament to give its judgment upon the proceedings that had been taken against the princes of Lorraine, to prove that they had caused Monsieur to be carried off, and, consequently, to show that his marriage was null.

The cardinal likewise made a long rhetorical harangue, which has been printed in his "Journal," thereby proving that it is no new thing for a minister to be proud of his oratory. He praised the king, and exaggerated the victories that prince had gained under his ministry, much more in the style of a declaimer than a minister of state. He also described, in an hyperbolical manner, the kindnesses the king had lavished on the queen-mother and Monsieur, particularly the pardon he was willing to extend to that prince. He promised great reliefs to the people, if the annoyances inflicted upon the king were once put an end to, and added, for the present, "*that besides the reduction of the Droits, and the revocation of a hundred thousand officers of new creation, the exemption of whom was the grievance of those who bore the burthen of the levies, he still further remitted the quarter of the Taille.*" But this quarter itself was a new imposition, and it had been levied for the enterprise to Lorraine, in addition to nine millions of levies. The people, however, did not fail to rejoice at this small abatement, because they had dreaded something quite the contrary.

Although well acquainted with the cardinal's wretched financial resource of the sale of offices, when, in the authority we were consulting, we came to this passage, we were at pause—"a hundred thousand newly-created officers,"—who by that creation became exempt from the

taxes with which others were burthened! We could scarcely believe we read correctly. We must remember that the population of France was not half what it now is, and yet a hundred thousand offices could be subtracted from those that existed. How many could they be? Public officers in France, must have been like the gods of the ancient Greeks, whose functions were so multifarious, and their numbers so great, that there was even a god of sneezing. It is but justice to the chronicler of this event to say that he too seems surprised, as he prints the words in *Italics*.

The case of the parliament was a pitiable one: they were called upon to pronounce, at least, unpleasant decrees against a prince who might, within a week, be their despotic master. The duke of Lorraine was generally blamed for having consented to a marriage which, by being opposed to the wishes of the king, had drawn upon him very disagreeable consequences. Otherwise, this marriage was not unequal, nor was it disadvantageous to the state; and there was nothing in it to find fault with, except its having been entered into without the consent of the king, who might have approved of it, after due apology, as he was in the end obliged to do. Nevertheless, to revenge himself for this insult, he required the duke of Lorraine to give up Zire, a place between Metz and Thionville, for the purpose of having it fortified. The duke instantly complied, because he had no power to do otherwise. The king promised to restore it to him again, not by letters patent, but by letters sealed with the privy seal, to denote the superiority of the king. He also demanded of the duke the original contract of the marriage of the duke of Orleans, and all the documents he had in his possession relative to this affair. He likewise insisted upon knowing who were the witnesses of the ceremony, and upon having the officiating priest placed in his power. On the other hand, to make the duke sensible that if he

would submit he might expect more indulgence, an order was sent to the parliament at Metz to defer the prohibition they had been commanded to make to the inhabitants of the territories dependent on the bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, to acknowledge for the future the duke of Lorraine; and the duke was likewise allowed to receive the revenues of the duchy of Bar without being pressed to pay his homage.

Although this prince was almost stripped of his territories, he was so irritated against France, which oppressed him in such a shameful manner, that he sought all sorts of means of retaliation. In order to be able to declare himself openly against that country, without the fear of being deprived of the little he had left, he, by a deed of donation, on the 19th of January, made over his states to his brother Nicholas Francis, Cardinal de Lorraine, under the pretext that the person of the latter was more agreeable to the king than the duke's. It was evident that this donation was but a feint on the part of the duke, as he performed several acts of sovereignty subsequently to it. After he had executed it, he retired from Lorraine with eight hundred horse and two thousand foot, and joined the imperial army.

The new duke immediately sent Contresson into France to inform the king and the cardinal of what had passed between his brother and himself, and promised that he would observe the treaty of Charmes. With regard to his brother, he declared he did not know whither he was gone. The parliament, however, did not discontinue the proceeding which had been commenced against him. The Cardinal de Richelieu told Contresson, when he presented to him the resignation the duke had made in favour of his brother, "that there was great cause for France to complain of the duke of Lorraine, on two accounts, one of which was his want of observance of three different treaties which he, the cardinal, had himself made with

him ; and the other was the carrying off of the duke of Orleans, whom he had forced to marry his sister. For the first, the minister believed that the states of Lorraine were engaged to France, and therefore could not be made over to the Cardinal de Lorraine but upon the same conditions by which his brother held them ; and, as to the second, the duke was not justified in absenting himself. Besides, the Cardinal de Lorraine had been an accomplice in the affair, as, in his quality of bishop of Toul, he had granted a dispensation for the publishing of the proper banns of the marriage of Monsieur with the Princess Marguerite, and had authorized a monk to say mass on that occasion, to the prejudice of the curé, in order that the affair might be kept secret. The cardinal-duke, likewise, reproached him of Lorraine with having abused the the king's passport, for the purpose of carrying off his sister, and sending her to Brussels."

Thus the princes of Lorraine were immersed in embarrassment, and neither knew how to appease France, nor how to defend themselves against her. There appeared to be no resource but the marriage with the cardinal's niece ; and even in that affair there were great difficulties. In another view it was dangerous, for if the cardinal-duke had reason to think that his niece had only been sought in marriage to amuse and deceive him, he would be sure to revenge himself cruelly.

Contrésson was sent back to the Cardinal de Lorraine with orders to tell him that he was at liberty to follow the steps of his brother, or to take an opposite direction ; and that if he had any regard for his own peace, he would do the latter. He was required to declare at once which he would do, and to let his actions denote his sentiments. Above everything he was desired to express his disapprobation of his sister's marriage, and to give up the documents of the original contract, and the dispensation for *the banns*. Contrésson was furnished in writing with

all his master was commanded to do, and was told that the answer to each article must be likewise conveyed in writing.

As the king neither approved nor disapproved of the resignation of the duke of Lorraine in favour of the cardinal his brother, the latter assumed the title of duke, and took possession of the states of his house with the usual solemnities, in order to prove that there was no collusion between his brother and himself. As he had not renounced the cardinal's hat, he styled himself '*Cardinal-duke de Lorraine*.' He despatched Contresson to the court of France with a reply to the articles that had been sent to him ; to demand that Saverne, which the Marshal de la Force had taken from his brother when no war existed between him and the king, and without assigning a reason, should be restored to him ; to complain that the officers commanding in the places his majesty held in pledge prevented the agents of the duke from levying the ordinary taxes upon the people of those cities ; and to request delay with regard to the homage of the duchy of Bar.

On his arrival in Paris, Contresson went immediately to present his letter of credit to the cardinal. When he read the superscription, *the Cardinal-duke de Lorraine*, he smiled, and said, *that was rather a pleasant quality*, as if in contempt of it, or as if the title of cardinal-duke belonged to Armand Jean Duplessis, exclusively of all others. He then broke into a great rage against the house of Lorraine, using the most contemptuous terms, as was his fashion, when he spoke of those who employed the same artifices against him as he employed against everybody. Contresson was so terrified, that he knew not what to reply ; but, at length he summoned courage enough to say, that having searched the houses of all the notaries of Nanci, as the Count de Brussac, governor of the city for the king, could vouch for, no minute could be found of the

marriage contract ; and to all appearances, there was none, it having, perhaps, been written with the duke of Orleans' own hand. Neither had they been able to find the dispensation for the banns, but that the Cardinal-duke de Lorraine offered to sign one, as he had signed the other. The names of the witnesses, he said, were not known, and the monk who performed the ceremony had left Lorraine. To this the cardinal replied with great warmth : "It was quite evident that the Cardinal de Lorraine (for he never called him duke) was walking directly in the steps of his brother. The answers full of dissimulation which he sent, and which were widely different from all he had spoken, plainly revealed his designs ; it had already been made clear by what spirit he was actuated, when, after having denied any knowledge of his sister's marriage, it had been found that he had granted the dispensation for the banns. It had once been thought that the Cardinal de Lorraine was a sincere and honourable prince, but the contrary was now evident. As to his not sending the contract, it was a matter of very little consequence ; it would soon be discovered how it was made. The nonproduction of the original would make the nullifying of the marriage only the more easy. The witnesses to the marriage were well known, and, with respect to them and the absent monk, the king would soon let them know that he had long hands. He concluded by saying, that instead of continuing to be, as he had been, the friend of the Cardinal de Lorraine, if he thus persisted in following the crooked paths of his brother he should become his greatest enemy."

As to the taking of Saverne, the king, according to the cardinal, had no occasion to make excuses for a thing that was well done, and added : if the Cardinal de Lorraine had defended the place, it would have been taken from him by force. He would inquire into the hindrances opposed by his majesty's officers in the cities hold in

pledge, to the collection of the dues of the duke of Lorraine. Far from giving time for paying homage for the duchy of Bar, the cardinal must soon expect to see that duchy devolve to the king, by the felony of the duke, and incorporated with the crown; and the principal might shortly follow the accessory. He meant to say by that, that the whole of Lorraine might be seized upon, in virtue of a decree of parliament, which would condemn the duke to that forfeiture as a punishment for having carried off Monsieur, and to defray the expenses of the war.

It was thus the cardinal-duke obliged the weak to submit to his will, under the pretence of making the king more respected. The whole of his ministry was carried on with the same high hand, because he had to deal with people of very little foresight or prudence; and having at his command all the kingdom, and all the authority of the king, he crushed them before they were in a condition to defend themselves.

Whilst the cardinal was contemplating a family alliance with the sovereign house of Lorraine, the intended bridegroom of his niece married Claude de Lorraine, his cousin, and sister of his brother's wife, in presence of the duchess, several ladies and one gentleman. He was induced to take this bold step by the proximity of Marshal de la Force, who, it was said, had orders to seize those two princesses, and send them to France, for the purpose of enforcing claims which they had upon Lorraine, to the prejudice of the two princes. As soon as Marshal de la Force heard of the marriage, he invested the city of Luneville, and took the newly-married couple, together with the Duchess de Lorraine and Princess de Phalsbourg, to Nanci, to which city their liberty was limited, though they were otherwise treated with perfect respect.

The late cardinal, whom we shall henceforth style Duke

Nicholas Francis, sent a gentleman to the court to announce his marriage to the king, to beg him to restore Luneville, and to grant him and the princess liberty, as he was prepared to observe all the treaties with his majesty. His envoy was told, that with respect to his marriage, the king had nothing to do with it, and as to their being prisoners, it was not true, the whole of the city of Nanci being free to them. But so far from restoring anything, the king said the Cardinal de Lorraine had proved himself to be so completely of the same disposition as his brother, that, for his own security, he was obliged to take possession of the rest of Lorraine. Duke Charles then offered to make over to the king La Mothe and Biche, two fortified places still in his hands, if he would liberate his brother and the princess. But the cardinal preferred taking the cities by force, and detaining the prince and princesses prisoners, as he meant to make good use of the rights of the ladies: La Force had orders to blockade La Mothe, preparatory to laying siege to it.

The Princess de Phalsbourg was confined more strictly than the others, from being known to possess a spirit much more difficult to be dealt with, and from her being the principal cause of her sister's marriage. But the same genius that had been able to contrive the evasion of her sister, was not likely to slumber when her own liberty was in question; and, in spite of the cardinal and his guards, she escaped by concealing herself in the bottom of a carriage, in which a sick and lame gentleman, in virtue of a passport, was conveyed out of the city. The guard examined the carriage at the gate, but they saw nothing but the sick gentleman, reclining on his mattress, which, fortunately, they had the humanity not to disturb. When they had left Nanci three hours' journey behind them, she and her lame friend mounted on horseback, and rode with all speed to Besancon. Her escape was

discovered within two hours, and numbers were despatched in pursuit of the fugitives; but they could not discover what road they had taken. The cardinal was greatly enraged at the escape of this princess; he knew her spirited and intriguing character, and he dreaded her joining Monsieur, and contracting a marriage with Puylaurens, which had been talked of.

Duke Charles, who was in Alsace with the imperialists, formed the design of surprising the French army before La Mothe; and with his own troops, and others placed at his disposal by the imperial generals, recommenced his march for that purpose. But his progress was intercepted by the Swedish general, the Rhengrave Otho, who cut his little army to pieces, and he, with great difficulty, escaped to Franche-Comté.

The Cardinal de Richelieu, extremely angry with Duke Nicholas Francis for not having married his niece on some terms, set about his revenge by giving orders for his trial, he being no longer a priest, for the pretended abduction of Monsieur. The parliament of Paris summoned him, his brother, and the Princess Marguerite, to answer thereto, and ordered the priest who performed the marriage to be seized. These formalities denoted plainly, that if the princess did not appear, they would be condemned for contumacy, and their states would be forfeited.

Neither Duke Nicholas Francis nor his wife judged it prudent to await the issue of this trial in Lorraine; and having found means to escape from Nanci, in disguise, they remained for a time at Besancon, and went from thence to Florence. The Duchess Nicole, the wife of Charles, alone did not leave Nanci, which was still in the hands of the French. It was said that the French authorities had permitted the escape of the newly-married couple, designedly: their union having been sanctioned by the pope, no complaint could be founded upon that. But

the cardinal determined to reunite the whole of Lorraine to the crown, under the pretext of its having been a fief of the Counts of Champagne, and that county having long been in the hands of the kings of France, all that depended upon it must belong to her likewise.

Whilst this was passing in Lorraine, the cardinal was making great promises to Monsieur and Puylaurens, for fear Gaston should be reconciled to his mother : he hoped to see them soon in France, as he had offered them everything, with the exception of a fortified place of security. The queen-mother was more angry with the Duke of Orleans than ever, and saw no probable means of becoming reconciled to him whilst Puylaurens retained his influence. She, therefore, resolved to become reconciled to the king, at whatever sacrifice ; and she saw the more necessity for this step from the obvious partiality shown to Gaston by the Marquis d'Aytone, governor of the Netherlands. She commanded Chanteloube to write to Bouthillier, that she had made up her mind to throw herself into the arms of the king, and to be friendly with Richelieu if the king desired it. Bouthillier conveyed the letter, still sealed, to the king, and ordered the bearer of it, who had come without a passport, to be detained. The king opened it in presence of the cardinal, and found it to contain what we have stated ; the queen only, in addition, requesting a passport which would allow a man named Roche to come and go. Father Chanteloube, said the queen, asked for nothing on his account but to be allowed to end his days in peace in a convent of his order. The king called a council upon the subject of this letter, in which it was observed that as everybody must be surprised to see the queen so suddenly pass from one extreme to another, it was natural to suspect that some artifice was concealed under this proceeding. This idea was strengthened by the circumstance of Roche having been an accomplice of Alfeston, and by another man, lately consigned to the

Bastille, having accused Chanteloube afresh. The bearer of the letter, therefore, received a verbal reply, that when Father Chanteloube should no longer be with the queen, and she herself would write, attention would be paid to her communications.

As soon as this messenger returned to Flanders, the queen sent De Laleu with three letters from her own hand, for the king, the cardinal, and Bouthillier; the contents of all which expressed her readiness to do everything the king required of her, particularly to be reconciled to the cardinal, if he would allow her to return to court. The following are the terms in which she addressed Richelieu, and which must have affected him, if it had been in his nature to have pardoned an injury:—" *My Cousin. The Sieur de Bouthillier having informed me, on your part, that my anger had affected you sensibly, and that, feeling great regret at seeing me so long deprived of the pleasure of seeing the king, you would have infinite pleasure in employing your power in procuring me that happiness, I have thought myself obliged to declare to you, by the Sieur de Laleu, whom I send to the king, with what satisfaction I receive this evidence of your goodwill. Place confidence in him, and believe, my cousin, that I wish to be truly, &c., &c.*" De Laleu was ordered to see the cardinal and to declare to him, by word of mouth, that the queen entertained no resentment for the past; that she wished to require no return for the marks of friendship she had formerly bestowed upon him but the hope of regaining, by his means, the good graces of the king, and permission to send some of her people to him, to negotiate for her return: with regard to himself, he had no reason to mistrust the queen-mother, as he was the stronger, and she received the law from him. De Laleu had particular instructions to observe the cardinal's manner; for if it denoted suspicion, she felt it would be impossible to effect a reconciliation. With respect to

Chanteloube, the queen was unwilling to dismiss him, as her own act ; but if the cardinal excluded him from the treaty, as she begged him to do, he would retire from her service of his own free will.

The cardinal found himself extremely embarrassed by these letters ; because the queen, having humbled herself in a manner that had been deemed impossible, it must appear to every one incredible that the king could forbid her return to court. He, nevertheless, was not at all inclined to believe that his ancient benefactress could sincerely pardon him the injuries he had done her, any more than he himself pardoned that princess, the manner in which she had treated him previously to her leaving France, or for the writings against him of which she had sanctioned the publication since that time. Besides, he had, he said, received various advices, that Father Chanteloube was engaged in machinations against him ; and that although he pretended to request to be left in Flanders, he had written to a friend that the queen never would abandon him. There was nothing in this that might not have been remedied, if the king had entertained any affection for his mother, and if the cardinal could have pardoned a person who had done him infinitely more good than harm.

But, instead of entering into considerations which would present themselves naturally to a well-disposed mind, the cardinal advised the king to continue to insist upon her delivering some of her followers up to punishment ; which he knew she could not do without avowing herself guilty, without renouncing humanity, and without driving from her side all who were disposed to serve her. De Laleu received orders to go to Ruël, where the king was visiting the cardinal, but was surprised to find nobody there but the latter. He was, nevertheless, received with much honour, and the cardinal told him that the respect he owed to her who sent him, even ought to command

more. But his reply showed the source of this compliment. He said: "The queen-mother would always be welcome, but the king desired to be satisfied that she would not be diverted from the intentions she expressed of doing all the king wished, by the maliciously-minded people who had deceived her up to that time, and of whom the king could never feel secure as long as they were in the world (*for he was no longer contented with requiring the queen to dismiss them, when he found her disposed to do so*). To this end, the king required the queen-mother to place in his power Father Chanteloube, the Abbé de St. Germain, and him who made the horoscopes (he meant Fabbroni, whom he afterwards named), because they had not only performed evil offices towards the queen-mother, but had offended the king beyond the hopes of pardon; the first by his bad counsels, the second by his seditions and outrageous libels, and the third by his predictions, in which he had asserted that the king had but a short time to live; which had rendered the queen-mother susceptible to evil counsels, disturbed the royal household, and done much injury to the state. The queen ought immediately to deliver up to the king a man who had placed the life of his majesty in question, as Fabbroni had done; a man, who, by defamatory libels had neglected nothing that could ruin his reputation, as St. Germain had done; and a man who, by attacking the lives of the most faithful servants of the king, gave his majesty reason to fear for his own person."

Richelieu might well choose the king to be absent from this interview, as he meant his majesty's real interests to form no part of his speech. Nobody is concerned in this but himself; for even behind the pretext of the danger in which the king's life is placed, we know that he only thought of his own power as depending upon that life.

The cardinal added that this would be the means of convincing everybody that she disapproved of their evil

designs, and affected great joy that his enemies had not been able to destroy the queen-mother's friendship for him. He concluded, by saying: "He could not refrain from warning the queen, with the same frankness with which he used formerly to speak to her, that after what had passed, it was impossible for the king not to feel much mistrust, and that all that must be dispersed before a reconciliation could be established on a solid foundation: after that had been effected, she would receive marks of the good disposition of the best son in the world, and would see the effects of the goodwill of one of her creatures, who on this occasion could not depart from the intentions of the king, without offending him seriously."

Before De Laleu's return to Brussels, he received more letters for the king and the cardinal, in which the queen-mother confirmed what she had said, in terms still more humble, particularly with regard to the cardinal. She also requested a passport for Father Suffren, her confessor, whom she wished to send to court. But she was told that nobody would be listened to, unless he was the bearer of the queen's promise to deliver into the king's hands the three men he demanded. De Laleu returned to the Netherlands with these sad news, which destroyed all the queen's hopes of seeing her son again.

While these negotiations were pending, Monsieur having consulted the University of Lorraine upon his marriage, it was pronounced valid, and he had it solemnly confirmed by the archbishop of Malines, in the presence of seven witnesses. The queen-mother was requested to be present, but would not, either because she was unwilling to interfere again in Monsieur's affairs, as she told him, or that she did not think proper to offend the king at a time when she was endeavouring to conciliate him. Notwithstanding her peaceful inclinations, at the reception of the message by De Laleu, so far from stooping to the inhumanity required of her, she conferred upon the Abbé

de St. Germain's the office of her first almoner, which had lately become vacant. The court, at the same time, ordered the Marshal de Crequi, then at Rome, to endeavour to persuade the pope to declare Monsieur's marriage null, by every reason that could be urged. But as these reasons were evidently only the cloak to the desire the king entertained for preventing his brother marrying at all, the pope raised great difficulties against all that was proposed to him.

The best means would have been to have prevailed upon the duke to return to France, as he would then have been in the power of the king and his minister, he being always to be won by the coarse bribe of money to pay for his pleasures and satisfy his favourites. Differences arose among these favourites, and the two principal, Puylaurens and D'Elbœuf, were at open feud. Puylaurens was shot at as he was ascending the steps of the palace. He was only slightly wounded, but as Monsieur, who was greatly enraged, attributed the attempt to D'Elbœuf or some of the queen-mother's followers, it was sufficient to complicate the confusion and trouble in which the fugitives lived. The queen-mother was much injured by the affair, as she was charged with having attempted to assassinate the favourites of both her sons, in order to lead them afterwards according to her own will. Others, however, and, as we think, with more reason, believed that the Spaniards, being informed that Puylaurens was negotiating for Monsieur's return, wished to break off the negotiation by assassinating the principal author of it. This failure of the attempt only delayed Monsieur's return for a short time, and, in fact, gave Puylaurens a greater inclination to bring it about, as he thought himself no longer safe in Brussels.

If we do not go quite as far as Sir Robert Walpole, and pronounce history one great lie, we certainly must admit that we scarcely turn over a page of it without having some

deception or other laid open to us: political history seems to be one tissue of deceit, one series of artfully-devised enigmas, which time and subsequent events unriddle. Gaston and his favourite became daily more anxious to return to France; but as they knew this would be displeasing to the Spaniards, who had given them refuge, they proposed a fresh treaty to those Spaniards, of the most extravagant kind; being conscious they never contemplated abiding by one word of it, they subscribed to any terms the Spanish court dictated—terms not only shameful to the duke of Orleans, as a prince of France, but as a man of honour. There is no doubt that Puylaurens had cunning enough, if his master had not, to see that this treaty would facilitate their return, as Louis and his minister would be anxious to terminate a connection which appeared to be growing too intimate. The queen-mother was warmly pressed by all parties to enter into this treaty, and her refusal was even threatened with harsh treatment; but she had sufficient firmness and prudence to refuse to be a party in anything so contrary to the interests of her son and his kingdom. The Marquis d'Aytone was sent to the court of Spain with this treaty, to procure the signature of his Catholic majesty. He signed it, and sent it back by sea; but, as if fate seconded the views of Puylaurens, the ship in which it was conveyed was wrecked upon the coast of Calais, the ratification was taken by the French, was sent to the cardinal, and, as Puylaurens expected, made him more anxious for Monsieur's return within the sphere of his own operations.

The principal objection to this was Monsieur's marriage; the king persisted in having it annulled, and Gaston was equally firm in maintaining its validity. The French nation, nay, even the pope, for once, was on the honourable side of the question; but it alarmed the jealousy of Louis, and threatened the interests of the cardinal, and the indis-

pensable article was the consigning of Madame to the tender mercies of the king and his minister.

A council was held upon this subject, in which the cardinal delivered one of his most characteristic speeches. "There were but two certain means," he said, "to secure the king from the evil designs of Monsieur, the first of which depended upon the blessing of heaven, and the other upon the prudence of the king. The first was, if the king had a son, who would deprive Monsieur of the hope of seeing the throne vacant in his favour. The second consisted in a strict union, which those upon whom the king could depend should form together, by which the persons connected with the duke of Orleans might understand, that if they opened a road to the accession of that prince by indirect means, there were people who would avenge that crime ; and that even if it were vacant naturally, he would not be put in possession without dispute. The result of this would be, that if Monsieur believed that at the death of the king his succession would be vigorously contested, he would not be desirous for that event to take place. This expedient was the only means of securing the king, and preserving the state from the danger into which the designs of the Spaniards, or the cabals of evil-minded Frenchmen might bring it : because, when the king died, neither the one nor the other could constrain Monsieur to grant them all they wished, their power being counterbalanced by that of the opposite party ; and thus the servants of the king, supported by the clear right of Monsieur, would be in a condition to defend him against the Spaniards, and would find their security in labouring for the welfare of the kingdom.

History does not tell us what the reflections of the council were upon this strange piece of advice ; but it is clear that it went to give the cardinal power to choose, among the princes of the blood, the one that would please him best, to succeed to the throne. This minister, who

complained of Gaston's having violated the fundamental laws of the state, would have had the king, against justice or usage, clothe him with an authority which a whole people does not pretend to in an hereditary monarchy. Monsieur, about this time, became reconciled to his mother, on the occasion of a disturbance in his household, during which the queen-mother sent him all her people, with orders to obey him in everything. The Duke d'Elbœuf likewise returned to friendly terms with Monsieur and Puylaurens ; but the duke of Orleans was so little capable of either keeping order in his household, or of making himself loved by his servants, that most of them abandoned him, without taking leave, and returned to France, although passports had been refused to them.

Being in this condition, the cardinal took very little heed of the duke of Orleans ; he had secured his favourite, and therefore could act with regard to him when necessity required it. But the firm and constant spirit of the queen-mother gave him much trouble, and as, from either policy or hatred, he continued to force her to extremity, he dreaded assassination, if she remained so near Paris as the Netherlands. Florence again occurred to him, and he sent Gondi to her, with a kind invitation from the grand duke, to ascertain what her feelings were on the subject. He thought that although she might not accept it, it would be quite as well she should know the king had no objection to her going. The queen received the duke's compliment with much satisfaction, and said that the duke had more consideration for her than her sons, or her sons-in-law ; the one ill-treated her, and the others either refused her all assistance, or proved they were weary of affording it. She was thankful to the grand duke, and required the time to reply to him till Gondi's return from Holland, whither he was then on his road. She expressed great dissatisfaction at the conduct of her domestics, saying that Father Chanteloube was wanting in integrity,

and the Abbé de St. Germain in judgment; but she could not make up her mind to dismiss them, for fear it should be deemed an admission of having been ill advised. The king of Spain, she said, only supplied her wants tardily and unwillingly, and she was frequently without personal necessities. Puylaurens had begun, she said, by ruining her, and ended by destroying her hopes; for after having induced her to take a decided part against the cardinal, by swearing never to abandon her, he had conveyed to that prelate every word she had said, in order to secure his countenance before Monsieur's first departure from Paris. Dreading her resentment for this injury, he had been her bitter enemy ever since.

On his way back from Holland, Gondi again saw the queen. She thanked the grand duke for his kindness, and, without declining the retreat he offered her, said that Florence was too far from Paris, and if she went there, all her affairs would be too long procrastinated. She should, therefore, reserve her visit to her native country till all hopes of accommodation should be at an end. She again repeated how little satisfaction she derived from the services of Chanteloube and St. Germain, and said that if the king desired her to dismiss them, she would do so willingly; but she would not subject herself to a repetition of the contemptuous refusal all her concessions had met with at the beginning of the year. Gondi was her countryman, the representative of her family in France, and she received the advice he gave her with much mildness, and poured out her sorrows freely. In all their conversations she shed torrents of tears, and evinced the strongest desire to be reconciled to her son, leaving everything to his generosity, and requiring nothing of him. She even said she would wish to owe her return to the cardinal, and that she saw plainly that he alone had power to serve her. Gondi was satisfied that she was in a condition deserving of pity, and her speeches would

have touched any but those to whom, through Gondi, they were addressed.

Upon his return to Paris, he rendered an account of his voyage to the cardinal and the other ministers, and endeavoured to represent the queen's situation to them in a way to excite their commiseration. The cardinal listened to him with perfect indifference, although he appeared satisfied with his negotiation. He said that whilst Father Chanteloube, convicted of having twice attempted to assassinate him, the cardinal, should be with the queen, no confidence could be placed in her, and she always told the same story.

Gondi had another audience of the cardinal; and when he endeavoured to touch his feelings by representing the sad condition of the queen-mother, and repeating her resolution to forget all that was past, the minister replied that he did not know her so well as he did: for, on the day she quarrelled with him, in spite of all his submissions and all the prayers of the king, she said, *she was, and was determined, always to be implacable*; which made the king reply, *Then you must have a cruel disposition*. He then launched out in invectives against Father Chanteloube, St. Germain, and Fabbroni, whom he styled assassins, poisoners, and execrable wretches. After complaining that Chanteloube had made three different attempts to assassinate him, as three men who had been put to death for the crime had confessed; that St. Germain had attacked his reputation by detestable writings; and that Fabbroni had placed money in deposit at Antwerp, to recompense the assassins sent into France, he said that was their least fault, for they were guilty of high treason. He, notwithstanding, added, that if the queen would have given them up, they would not have been treated with the severity they deserved. He said, if she had, by that proceeding, acknowledged that she had put faith in, and protected, the enemies of the king, he would

have signed her recall with his blood, and would have omitted nothing to obtain it.

If we were to indulge in the expression of all this man's actions give birth to, our narrative would not only be constantly interrupted, but the commentary would exceed the text. What a picture this conversation gives of a mind that some historians have called great! Indeed, after the last sentence of the speech quoted, a remark to any reader must be unnecessary—the beating of his vindictive heart is heard in his words.

D'Elbene was more fortunate in his negotiations for the return of the duke of Orleans; Puylaurens being gained, the prince consented to all that was asked, by the persuasion of his favourite, who had no consideration for the honour of his master. The subject of the marriage was to be left, by mutual agreement, to the decision of the legal authorities of France. Monsieur was to reside at Auvergne, in the Bourbonnois, or at Dombes, promising to live as a true brother and a good subject. The king granted an amnesty for all his servants, with the exception of three or four: Monsieur was to be re-established in all his property and pensions, and the king was to give him a large sum for the payment of his debts at Brussels and elsewhere. He was to have the government of Auvergne instead of that of Orleans; and honourable guards and gendarmes were to contribute to his state. The king only granted him these favours upon condition of his accepting them within a fortnight, and carrying them out by returning to France within three weeks from the 1st of October, 1634.

Puylaurens had, for his share, the government of the Bourbonnois, and the duchy of Eguillon, with a promise of a relation of the cardinal's in marriage within a week after his return to France. This marriage, and his favour with Gaston, led him to hope that the cardinal would impart half his authority to him, and associate him with

himself in the government. But the end proved to him that he was as little acquainted with the minister, as he was incapable of truly serving his own master.

Monsieur and Puylaurens, delighted at having obtained these advantages from the court, had now nothing to think of but an early escape from the Spaniards, who would, they were sure, prevent their departure if they had the least suspicion of their intention. They seized upon the opportunity of the Marquis d'Aytone being gone to confer with the duke of Neubourg, to leave Brussels, under the pretence of a hunting-party, with Du Farges and six others, besides servants with led horses. Instead of looking for foxes, they rode with all speed to Capelle, about twenty-five leagues from Brussels, and the nearest place belonging to France. Monsieur bade farewell to nobody, not even to Madame, whom he afterwards, in a letter, recommended to the kindness of his mother. From Capelle he went straight to St. Germain, where the king then was; he made his royal brother a high-flown speech, in which, after extravagant compliments, he asked his pardon, and promised to be obedient for the future; his attendants followed his example, and his majesty received them all very graciously.

The cardinal came from Ruel, on purpose to be present at the interview. He told the prince his absence had given him great pain, as it had not allowed him an opportunity for rendering him the services he wished; and that he experienced the greatest joy in thinking he should be able to do so, now his long-wished-for return had taken place. The duke replied that he very much regretted he had not been sooner undeceived, and that, from that time, he should pay the utmost respect to his counsels. After which they embraced.

Oh, Momus! Momus! if these two men had had thy transparent windows in their bosoms, what different pictures would their hearts have offered to those presented



RECONCILIATION OF THE KING AND MORRIS.—P. 22

to the courtiers by their countenances! Can we not fancy this keen-eyed race watching intensely every glance or shade of the complexion? Poor Marshal Bassompierre was in prison at the time, or he might have given us one of his dashing sketches of the scene.

The next day the duke went to Ruel, where he had a long private conversation with the cardinal, and pretended to tell him all he knew. History is at fault here—we have not this interview: it would be amusing, if we could divest ourselves of the idea that one was the all-powerful minister of a great kingdom, and the other heir presumptive to a throne that placed the happiness of millions in his power, to use Shakespeare's term, to see the witty cardinal *suck such a sponge dry*. The cardinal treated him splendidly, and with extraordinary honours. After this Monsieur went to his estate of Limours, five leagues from Paris.

The first compliments being over, the cardinal at once proceeded to business; and Monsieur was pressed to consent to have his marriage annulled. The duke, with great reason, opposed all that was said, by replying that his conscience would not permit him to regard a marriage as a nullity, to which there could be no objection made but the want of the king's consent. Thereupon the cardinal sent him several theologians, to endeavour to remove his scruples of conscience, for he was never in want of skilful ministers to make his religion agree with his wishes. At first, Puylaurens joined these; but as Monsieur showed great aversion to the cardinal's gospel, it was believed that the favourite did not second his views very earnestly. He said he found all the reasons they alleged extremely good; but Monsieur not being sufficiently enlightened thereupon, he did not like to force him. Notwithstanding these doubts, the cardinal still adhered to his determination of giving him Mademoiselle de Pont Château, his cousin, in marriage; but he was not willing that it should be con-

summed just yet; which gave the courtiers reason to believe that Puylaurens was not so entirely in the good graces of the minister as he thought he was.

The king, after paying Monsieur the money he had promised him, and expediting Puylaurens' patents, sent Father Joseph and Bouthillier to the duke, to tell him that he should never approve of his marriage, but that he would not press him to marry again. The cardinal tried a fresh reinforcement of ecclesiastics, and sent three Jesuits, three secular priests, besides the general of the Fathers of the Oratory; but in spite of all their political reasonings, founded upon the jealousy of the king and his minister, Gaston, against all that could have been expected of him, firmly maintained that his marriage was good. He said that since the parliament could only found the nullity of his marriage upon a pretended constraint, which they said had been exercised by the princes of Lorraine, it was legitimate; because, of his own free will, he had demanded their sister of them, and they had not dared to refuse her. To satisfy the king, he said he would agree to live separate from his wife, but he never would consent to take another. Thus the seven theologians, after haranguing for several hours, finding they could make no impression upon him, returned to report their defeat to their master.

Puylaurens was beginning to doubt the cardinal's intentions, and even entertained thoughts of going to England, when the minister sent the Abbé d'Elbenc to Monsieur, who was then at Blois, to tell him that the king was not at all dissatisfied with his conduct, and to inform Puylaurens that he wished him to come to Paris to espouse the second daughter of the Baron de Pont Château. They joyfully returned to court with the messenger, and Gaston was again banqueted at Ruel by the cardinal. The king published a declaration, by which he re-established Monsieur, pardoned him all that had passed, and caused it to

be registered in the Parliament of Paris. At the same time, the nuptials of the Duke de la Valette with the elder daughter of the Baron de Pont Château, and those of Puylaurens with her younger sister, were celebrated with great splendour. The Count de Guiche also married a relation of the cardinal's, of the house of Duplessis Chevrai. All these marriages took place on one day ; the Arsenal being the scene of the festivities attending them. Puylaurens purchased the duchy of Arguillon of the Princess Mary, for six hundred thousand livres, and received very considerable gifts from the king ; so that, in addition to his quality of duke and peer, he found himself in possession of more than six hundred thousand crowns. Before he received his new titles, his name was Antoine de l'Age Sieur de Puylaurens.

CHAPTER X.

Political events ; Lorraine ; the war in Germany—Fresh differences with Gaston—Puylaurens arrested ; dies in prison—Gaston's marriage—Mary implores to be recalled—Uneasiness of Richelieu—Abasement of the princes of the blood—Foreign politics—Philipsbourg retaken by the imperialists ; depression of the cardinal—French reverses—Vigorous efforts of the nation—Distress of France—Rome opposed to the cardinal—The campaign opened in Italy, Spain, and Germany—Reverses—Richelieu greatly depressed—The cardinal presents his palace, with other wealth, to the king—Great exertions of the French—Siege of Corbie—Gaston and De Soissons conspire against the cardinal ; defeated by him—The cardinal annoys Anne of Austria—Result of a stormy night—Successes of the duke of Saxe Weimar—The duchess of Savoy—Father Caussin—Suspicious death of the duke of Saxe Weimar—Superstition of Richelieu and Father Joseph—Birth of Louis XIV.—The queen-mother in Holland and England—She makes strong but vain efforts to be recalled.

BUT we must not let family feuds and court intrigues entirely divert our attention from the foreign policy in which the genius of the cardinal was equally busy.

The duchess of Lorraine came, by order of the court, to Paris, but, prudently fearful of the purpose for which she was sent, she had a declaration drawn up by a notary, before she left Nanci, in which she said, that being obliged, by the orders of the king, to go to Paris, she by that document declared that all she might there execute against the interests of the house of Lorraine, was to be considered as extorted from her by force.

But she attached more importance to her own person than the cardinal did ; matters were carried on in Lorraine according to the system he had laid down, without any reference to her ; she lived in Paris unnoticed and unannoyed, except by having placards, issued by the parliament, summoning her husband as a felon to appear before that court, affixed to the gates of the Hôtel de Lorraine,

her residence. The French treated Lorraine exactly as a conquered country ; and, the more completely to bear out that resemblance, did not fail to increase all the imposts. Duke Charles answered the summons by affixing placards to the public places in the dukedom, in which he stigmatized the French as usurpers and tyrants ; but the only fruit of that was, irritating the cardinal to the point of making him resume the process against the duke for carrying off the duke of Orleans, and as a contumacious vassal of the crown. The minister proceeded with his usual vigour, when punishment or severity was to be executed ; the duchy of Biche was seized upon as reverting to its liege lord for non-performance of homage, and the rest of Lorraine was solemnly reclaimed as having been, at various times, detached by usurpation and violence from the crown of France : he obliged the clergy, the nobility, and the people to take the oath of fidelity to the king.

The cardinal had always kept up a close connection with the Swedes ; but upon the attempt of Wallenstein to get himself crowned king of Bohemia, the great reputation of that general, and his secret hatred for Oxenstiern, made him not only waver in this alliance, but even led him to promise to assist Wallenstein's bold enterprise. A coldness ensued between the courts of Stockholm and Paris ; but to the great disappointment of the cardinal, Wallenstein's designs were discovered by the emperor, and he had him killed at Egra, in Silesia. When the news of this event reached Paris, the king said publicly, that all who betrayed their prince merited a similar fate ; but the cardinal was, on the contrary, so seriously annoyed, that he could not help saying, he thought there was no necessity for his majesty's expressing his opinions so openly. He had to take up the thread of his Swedish policy again, and endeavour to repair the fretted parts of it.

The death of Wallenstein made the king, or rather the cardinal, reflect upon the numerous attempts that had

been made against the minister's life, and a large increase in the number of his guards was deemed necessary. Three hundred horse musketeers were added, so that the cardinal from that time had a complete body of guards, whilst the mother of his master, and his own benefactress, was reduced to the necessity of dismissing almost all her household servants, from her inability to support them.

The French accuse the Chancellor Oxenstiern of having aspired to the electorate of Mayence; but it is at least equally clear, that Richelieu had similar views upon the electorate of Trêves. To this end, he obtained from the elector, by means of money, the coadjutorship of the bishopric of Spire, and induced him to send a canon to Rome, to expedite the provisions of it, as of his own proper movement, without being obliged to appear, himself, in the affair. He only wrote to the Count de Noailles, the French ambassador at Rome, to support the request of the canon, whom the elector of Trêves had sent to Rome, and to speak about the affair to the pope and the Barberini. The first time the ambassador mentioned it to the pope, his holiness replied that it was a thing that could not be done, being opposed to the concordats of Germany. At a second audience, Noailles represented to the pope, that the Swedes being masters of Spire, there was no other means of preserving the Catholic religion in that city, but by forwarding the provisions of coadjutor to the cardinal. He likewise maintained that there was nothing in the concordats of Germany opposed to the admission of a foreigner to the bishopric of Spire. The pope referred Noailles to the Cardinal Datari; and as the court of Rome seldom falls into error by acting with precipitation, the emperor had time to be warned of Richelieu's design, and to place such powerful obstacles in the way of it, that the affair came to nothing.

The loss of the celebrated battle of Nordlengen by the Swedish generals, the duke of Wymar and Marshal Horn,

gave the cardinal serious apprehensions. He was aware that this party could only be supported by victories, and he anticipated its entire ruin by the imperialists. If this should happen, there could be little doubt that the imperialists would direct their whole force against Lorraine, whilst the Spaniards would enter Franche-Comté by Picardy or Champagne; the latter having already threatened to make a descent upon Provence, and to attack Languedoc by land. It was further to be dreaded that the duke of Savoy would join them, as the French had not kept faith with him with regard to the sum of money they had promised to pay him for Pignerol. He had begun to fortify Turin and Montmelian, and gave other evidences of dissatisfaction. The cardinal and his prime minister, Father Joseph, had a long consultation upon this affair, the result of which was a conviction that the Protestant league was in great danger, from not being able to place a powerful army on foot at once, and it was absolutely necessary to support it promptly. Oxenstiern and the confederates, who had refused Philipsbourg to France, now offered it, and consented that she should there construct a bridge across the Rhine, and a fort on the other side to protect it.

A council was held, in which the cardinal employed his customary wordy eloquence to convince the members it was the interest of France, in all ways, to carry out what he and Father Joseph had determined upon; the strongest argument being, that it was necessary to supply fuel to the war which was raging in Germany, to prevent a destructive war from being directed against France. Many of the parties engaged were enemies whom his policy had made so, and nothing was more to be dreaded than to see them at peace with each other.

The great result of the promise and assistance of France was the surrender to that power of the fortress of Philipsbourg; the cardinal was extremely delighted to obtain a place capable of stopping the imperialists, if they should

attempt to cross the Rhine into Lorraine, and gave strict orders to Marshal de la Force to be vigilant in preserving this great acquisition.

About this time the cardinal had an opportunity of placing another of his relations in an important post. The grand mastership of the artillery of France became vacant by the death of the Marquis de Rony, and it was conferred upon Richelieu's cousin, the Marquis de Meilleraye, with permission to perform the functions of it by commission, De Rony having been compelled to leave the court for that purpose. The cardinal liked to have his creatures about him. A slight storm, likewise, now about hovered in the air, which gave great uneasiness to the minister, but it quickly dispersed. A report prevailed, that the king was disgusted with the cardinal, because the minister wished to persuade him to go in person to the frontiers of Germany, in order to give spirit by his presence to the Protestant party. But the king preferred remaining at his country residences in the neighbourhood of Paris, where he could be at his ease, and enjoy his favourite amusements of hawking and hunting. It was likewise said that his confessor had infused scruples into his mind upon affording succour to heretics, upon the exile of the queen, and the invasion of Lorraine. He absented himself from the cardinal for some time; but the latter having consulted eight theologians of the Sorbonne upon the scruples of the king, four of them replied, that in the present conjuncture of affairs, his majesty was obliged to act as he did to preserve the peace and welfare of his states, and that that justified his conduct. Soon after this, the king quietly resumed his habits of intercourse with the cardinal, and even went to the chateau of Chilly, where the minister then resided, to consult with him, as formerly, upon affairs of state.

The duke of Orleans being restored to favour, and Puylaurens having become a duke and peer of France,

they began to fancy that they not only had fortune's wheel at their command, but that they had nothing to fear from their old enemy the cardinal. The minister in vain urged Puylaurens to persuade his master to consent to the nullifying of his marriage, and promised him a marshal's baton and the command of an army if he succeeded ; the favourite laughed at the idea, and even ventured to joke with the cardinal upon it. Condrai Montpensier, the duke's second favourite, took no more pains than the first to accomplish the wishes of the minister ; and the latter beginning to suspect that it was he who inspired Puylaurens with this spirit of resistance, soon made up his mind to get rid of him. He told Puylaurens, that being so nearly allied to him, he wished, if possible, to make their connection still more intimate, but that he could not do so whilst he was associated with Condrai Montpensier. Whether Puylaurens had a suspicion of the cardinal's design, or that he thought himself so safe as to make him heedless of the minister's hint, far from estranging himself from the man in question, he gave him apartments adjoining his own. This began to irritate the cardinal, to whom contradiction had become strange ; and his anger was not made less by remembering that Puylaurens was really as much one of his creatures as the most submissive of that large family.

The duke of Orleans resided at Blois, and some Spaniards of rank passing that way, on their journey by land to the Netherlands, the prince thought it a good opportunity for proving his gratitude for the kind reception he had received, and securing their attentions to the duchess. He therefore entertained them handsomely ; and the mutual civilities that passed did not fail to give umbrage to the ever-suspicious minister. In the whole life of Gaston of Orleans there is no passage that inspires so much respect as his conduct towards Marguerite of Lorraine. He not only held out firmly against a volun-

attempt to cross the Rhine into Louvain. He gave orders to Marshal de la Force to be ready to receive this great acquisition.

About this time the cardinal placed another of his relations in the grand mastership of the artillery of France, by the death of the Marquis de Ruyter, which was transferred upon Richeheu's cousin, the Duke of De Rony having been compelled to resign for that purpose. The cardinal liked him very much about him. A slight storm, likewise, was in the air, which gave great uneasiness, but it quickly dispersed. A report was spread that the king was disgusted with the cardinal, and wished to persuade him to go into exile in Germany, in order to give spirit to the Protestant party. But the king permitted him to have his country residences in the neighbourhood of Paris, where he could be at his ease, and enjoy himself in the exercise of hawking and hunting. It was said that the confessor had infused scruples into the king's mind, in giving succour to heretics, upon the occasion of the invasion of Lorraine. He was considered as a cardinal for some time; but the king, after consulting eight theologians of the Sorbonne, who were of opinion that the king, four of them were of opinion that he should not, at the juncture of affairs, his zeal for the Catholic religion did to preserve the peace of the kingdom, and that that justified him, he quietly resumed his duties, and even went to the front, where he then resided, to see the king in person, and to be of service to him of state.

The duke of
Puylaurens

affection and respect, but amidst caresses and attentions, coaxing remonstrances respecting his marriage were not forgotten : to his great honour he remained firm.

On the day fixed for the arrest of Puylaurens, the guard at the Louvre was doubled. . The precaution very nearly revealed the secret ; a footman of the duke's having observed it, told his master to beware, for he was convinced the court meditated violence against somebody. This man had no opportunity to speak to the duke before two o'clock, as he was ascending the steps of the Louvre ; and prudence or foresight not being among his virtues, he despised the warning, and went straight to the king's chamber, where he waited till the cardinal came. He was sent for to the house of the keeper of the seals, where he was dining, and had contrived to have the Marquis du Fargis and Condrai Montpensier of the party. Upon leaving, the cardinal asked Du Fargis to accompany him to the Louvre, and gave orders that the other should be arrested on rising from table. Everything was prepared at the Louvre for the rehearsal of the ballet ; and nobody was wanting but Puylaurens, who kept them waiting so long that the cardinal began to fear he had missed his aim, and the bird was flown. But after giving the minister half an hour's anxiety, he at length arrived ; and when the king, the cardinal, Monsieur, and the noble courtiers present had conversed with him freely for some time, the king took Monsieur by the arm and led him to his private closet. This was the signal agreed upon ; and the two captains of the guard on duty arrested the two favourites of Monsieur without the least difficulty or disturbance. The king, upon being told that his orders were obeyed, informed his brother of what had taken place, embracing him, and assuring him that he was perfectly satisfied with his conduct. He added, that Puylaurens was an ingrate, and he could not expect to be faithfully served by one who *had so ill requited the benefits he had re-*

ceived from the crown. The duke was evidently much chagrined ; but in the fear of being arrested himself, he said if Puylaurens had proved unworthy of his majesty's favour, it was right that he should be punished. The cardinal came to the support of the king, which somewhat restored Monsieur's confidence, who thought that if any idea of arresting him were entertained, Richelieu would not dare to be present. The minister soothed him with fresh compliments, and told him that the king desired he would in future assist at the council. Not quite satisfied, the duke replied, would the king allow him to leave the Louvre and retire to his own hotel? The cardinal promptly exclaimed, " Of course, Monsieur ;" and after paying his respects to the queen, the prince retired. But, as if he had only gone for the purpose of ascertaining the reality of his position, he returned for the evening to the Louvre, though several of his domestics had been arrested. Puylaurens and Du Fargis remained in the palace that night, and the next morning were conveyed to the Castle of Vincennes ; but Condrai Montpensier was sent to the Bastille.

The king commanded the publication of a circular letter, which was sent to the parliaments and governors of provinces, to point out his reasons for having arrested some of Monsieur's servants. It was conceived in sufficiently obscure terms, because the prisoners were as yet convicted of nothing ; but it was the general belief that the minister, not being able to place implicit trust in Puylaurens, had had him arrested, and would perhaps go much further. Richelieu sent the Cardinal de la Valette and Bouthillier to Monsieur, to assure him afresh of his willingness to serve him, and to express his regret that Puylaurens had, by the commission of fresh offences, obliged the king to have him arrested. It was remarked that though the cardinal sent messages to the duke, he did not venture to go to his hotel himself, as he had

great reason to fear Monsieur might take his revenge into his own hands. The duke behaved well on this occasion ; he said " He had promised to be the faithful servant of the king, and the friend of the cardinal, and would keep his word. If he believed Puylaurens guilty of anything whatever, he not only would not intercede for him, but he would be the first to call down justice upon his head ; but he did not believe he had committed any fresh offences ; his intercourse with Vieux-Pont, who was considered a suspicious person, only related to an affair of gallantry in Flanders, and had nothing to do with the state. Whoever attributed the manner in which he, Gaston, defended his marriage to the counsels of Puylaurens, were mistaken ; neither Puylaurens nor any man in the world could bias his opinion in a matter in which he thought his conscience should be his only guide." This constancy on the part of the duke gave the cardinal serious uneasiness ; he could not endure the idea of a prince, to whose favour he was compelled to look forward, being connected in marriage with a house he had just ruined. It was likewise annoying to the minister to find that the decree he had introduced into parliament, and which the parliament had passed, declaring Monsieur's inability to have formed a marriage in Lorraine, was universally ridiculed.

The cardinal was alarmed at every movement of this prince. He went to Blois, and from thence made a pleasurable excursion to Nantes, which was quite enough to raise the minister's apprehensions that he meant to steal away for security to England ; but his return quickly dissipated this fear. Puylaurens died at Vincennes after a few days' illness, brought on by agitation of mind and the close unwholesome air of his prison. The duke of Orleans expressed not only grief but anger at hearing of this event ; this was the second of his favourites who had died in prison by the order of the

cardinal, without having been convicted of any crime but want of subserviency to his will. The duke was, however, almost the only person that regretted Puylaurens; his assumption and pride made him hated by everybody. As soon as he was sent to prison a council was established for Monsieur, comprised of people entirely dependent upon the cardinal. Bouthilliers was at the head of it, with the title of chancellor.

A short time after, the cardinal called an assembly of the clergy of France, of whom the king demanded their opinion respecting the marriages of princes of the blood, who might pretend to the succession to the crown, particularly the nearest, when they were made not only without the consent of the king but even against his will, and in defiance of his prohibition. The assembly deputed some bishops to consult upon this affair, with divers theologians, regular and secular. These bishops having made their report, the assembly replied the next day exactly as the cardinal wished. "Such marriages," they said, "could be rendered null by ancient customs, which have nothing unreasonable in them, and which are authorized by the Church. The custom of France did not permit princes of the blood, particularly heirs presumptive of the crown, to marry without the consent of the king, and still less in defiance of his prohibition. Marriages of this kind were illegitimate and null, being deficient of a condition without which princes could not contract a marriage legitimately. This custom of France was ancient, reasonable, established by a legitimate prescription, and authorized by the Church. The queen-mother, upon hearing of this declaration, wrote immediately to Rome to entreat the pope to forbid the French clergy to meddle with the affair; because it was notorious that this assembly was composed of none but courtier-bishops, disposed to say anything the king and his minister desired, in order to forward their own advance-

ment ; and if the king changed his mind, or there should be a minister of a contrary opinion, they would be quite ready to make a declaration opposite to the preceding one.

In the fear that the Spaniards might obtain a declaration from the pope contrary to that of the French clergy, so that he himself should express disapprobation of it, the king sent the bishop of Montpellier to Rome to inform his holiness of the reasons which had induced the French clergy to pronounce against the marriage of the duke of Orleans. But the ambassador was strictly forbidden to give the pope to understand, even by a single word, that the king stood in need of the pope's authority to support his right, or to throw a doubt upon the nullity of the marriage. He was only to point out to the pope the dangerous consequences that might ensue to the crown from an alliance with the house of Lorraine ; and was charged to represent to his holiness all the subjects of complaint the king had against the princes of that family.

The queen-mother kept Fabbroni at Rome as her resident, his mission being to endeavour to procure her reconciliation with her son, as she could not soften the cardinal, determined upon leaving her to die in banishment ; to exhort the pope, in her name, to prevent the crowns coming to an open rupture, and to procure the general peace of Europe. She likewise wrote to the emperor, to persuade him to make peace with France ; perhaps in the hope that, if it were concluded, she might be comprised in it, and might return to France in spite of the cardinal. She also wrote to the king of Spain to the same effect. As it was, the cardinal, who had advised the declaration of war, in order to render himself more necessary to the king than he could have been during peace, she thought she should annoy him by taking an opposite part ; which was, besides, more fitting in a princess, who was mother of the king of France and of

the queen of Spain, than that which the cardinal had made the king adopt.

Mary next wrote a long letter to the king; and, knowing no other means by which it might reach its destination, she addressed it to Mazarin, then nuncio at the court of France. But in this she was unfortunate; for, in contempt of his character of nuncio, Mazarin, who was entirely devoted to the cardinal, took the letter straight to that minister. Richelieu would have suppressed it; but was deterred from doing so by the queen's declaring she had sent four other copies, by different hands, for fear this should miscarry. The expedient he took to destroy the effect of this was, to accuse the queen-mother of having endeavoured to corrupt the Duke de Rohan in favour of the Spaniards. The contents of this letter principally concerned the war, from which the queen endeavoured to dissuade her son by all sorts of reasons; and it must be confessed, that either Mary, or some of her advisers, could write sensibly and forcibly upon the subject, although the letter itself be too long for our purpose.

Mazarin, in order to acquit himself, in appearance, of his duty of a nuncio extraordinary, sent to promote peace, required an answer of the king; but his majesty refused to give him one. As a reason for his silence, he said, if he replied to such a seditious Spanish letter, so full of feigned affection, whilst the queen-mother was endeavouring to corrupt the Duke de Rohan, he should be obliged to represent to her the injury she was doing to France. She made great parade of the counsels of the late king to preserve peace with Spain; but the only tendency of that was to decry the present government, to render the cardinal odious, and to make the people discontented. When the queen should prove herself truly a mother, he would honour her as such; it was not out of disrespect that he did not answer her; but the nuncio was at liberty to make her what answer he thought most proper.

Monsieur still continued to defend his marriage; the only submission that could be got from him being, that if the pope declared he might conscientiously marry again, he would comply with the wishes of the king. This he said, because he was apparently certain that his holiness would never pronounce against him. But even this admission he only made at court: in his own residence, nothing could induce him to utter a word upon the subject: he knew he was surrounded by the cardinal's creatures, and he was certain all he said would be repeated and perverted. He often appeared so pensive and melancholy, that all the efforts of his courtiers could neither rouse nor amuse him.

But the great cause of so many troubles to others was himself by no means on a bed of roses. At this period Richelieu transacted most of his business at his country seat at Ruel, whither the king dutifully came to wait on his minister. His excuse was indisposition; but as it was observed that he took his usual exercise in his gardens and grounds, that was not sufficiently severe to prevent his going to Paris. But he did not feel himself secure in the capital; he had a habit of holding out his hand to every one he accosted, which was said to have been acquired from his anxiety to know whether they had not a deadly weapon concealed in theirs; he therefore dreaded the crowd of a city or a court, amongst which an assassin might glide into close proximity with him, unperceived and unsuspected. But all these precautions would have been useless if the king's countenance had ceased to protect him; in that case, his antagonists would have been the whole kingdom. The princes of the blood, whom he disgusted by indignities, and the people, whom he daily loaded with fresh imposts, hated him equally, and nothing could have saved him. His grandeur was founded upon the king, and maintained by his own perpetual violences; we cannot wonder at his being uneasy.

The next arrow he launched at his favourite victim, the

queen-mother, was a letter to the pope, stating, that Mary was not a sovereign, but a subject of the king of France, and had no right to have a resident at Rome. The pope replied, that simple bishops had agents there, and similar examples were not uncommon. But whether afraid of a contest with the cardinal, or not adequately supported, Fabbroni abandoned his mission, and retired to Florence.

Mary was highly irritated at this indignity, and wrote a long and violent letter to the pope, which, although containing a great many severe truths, was weakened in effect by the bitterness and unscrupulousness of the invectives with which she loaded her enemy. She, however, made it clear, that the cardinal was not entitled to the benefit of the objection he had raised. She, the widow of a great king, and the mother of a king and of a queen, was surely superior, as a subject, if she was to be considered one, to him; and every one knew that the French ambassadors at all courts were his representatives, and not the king's; they were only placed at their posts to defend the cardinal's interests, and give effect to his passions. She said she was aware the cardinal was endeavouring to acquire an absolute authority over the pope, by threatening to have himself created *patriarch of France*; but she assured his holiness that, although capable of all kinds of wickedness, he was of too timid a nature to undertake so bold and impious a step. She made a strong appeal to the pope to give his best efforts to the preservation of peace; indeed, though breathing war to the knife against Richelieu, the principal object of her letter appeared to be peace between France, Spain, and Germany. The most difficult subject she had to handle was the king; she wished to conciliate him, and yet every reflection made him contemptible. She plainly showed the king to be more dependent upon his minister, than the minister upon the king.

Fabbroni, having deserted his post, the queen-mother's arguments were thrown away ; and her efforts to promote peace proved equally useless.

This same year the cardinal indulged in one of his favourite policies, that of mortifying and abasing the princes of the blood. The Count de Soissons had a difference with the marquis of Senterre ; the cardinal haughtily hinted to the Countess de Soissons that her son must beware, for the marquis was under his protection. De Soissons was not only forced to dissemble his resentment against his enemy, but even felt it necessary to visit and conciliate the cardinal, a thing he had never before done, as there was a point of etiquette in dispute between them.

Amongst these domestic troubles in which his genius appeared to take delight, Richelieu was not neglectful of foreign discord. Negotiations in which there was no sincerity were not likely to promote peace, and all parties prepared either openly or secretly for war. The minister's favourite acquisition of Philipsbourg was taken by the imperialists, with immense stores, proportionate with the importance he had attached to the holding of it. This place had been purchased of the Swedes, and the panegyrists of the cardinal boasted that the minister had found means to acquire for his majesty the strongest place in Germany, without drawing a sword. Its advantages were incalculable, and the greater the consequence he had attached to the acquisition of it, the more severe was his mortification at the loss of it. The king was so affected by this chance of war, that he even gave up the thoughts of a ballet, in which he was to have danced, and retired to indulge his grief at Versailles. This demonstration was exceedingly annoying to the cardinal ; in such cases, he said, the regret should be dissembled, and the loss be publicly treated as of no consequence. But even his politic spirit yielded to nature : he found himself so

agitated as to be incapable of business, and retired to Ruel. Father Joseph, too, who was the relation of Arnaud,—the governor who had surrendered the place, and who had procured him the appointment,—was no less mortified by this untoward event. As may be supposed, the partisans of the enemies of the cardinal and his confidant did not quite suppress their delight at seeing how deeply their vanity was wounded.

The events of the thirty years' war not only belong more peculiarly to history than biography, but, at the same time, are so interesting and complicated, that we almost fear to trust our pen amongst them ; notwithstanding, however, the immense sacrifices forced from the people of France, the never-failing expedients of the cardinal, and the bravery of the French troops, the war was greatly to the disadvantage of the nation.

The Swedish chancellor, Oxenstiern, came to Paris for the purpose of renewing preceding treaties, and devising the best means for carrying on the war in Germany, against the common enemy. Great honours were paid to him at Paris, for he was not only treated equally with the ambassadors of all other crowned heads, but still further, he was lodged handsomely, and his expenses were paid. The cardinal even visited him, an honour he rendered to very few ; but he would not give him precedence in his own house, nor feign to be ill, as he sometimes did in favour of the English ambassadors, who would not acknowledge his cardinal's prerogatives. Oxenstiern overlooked these formalities, out of consideration, he said, for the merit of the extraordinary minister he had to deal with.

Richelieu prepared for the success of his military plans by great efforts ; he concluded an alliance, offensive and defensive, with Holland as well as with Sweden, and secured the concurrence of the army of the prince of Orange in the Netherlands, and of that on the Rhine commanded by the duke of Saxe-Weimar. Richelieu at

the same time signed treaties with the Swiss, and the dukes of Savoy and Parma. His plan of war embraced at once Flanders, the Rhine, the Valteline, and Italy; and he formed four armies, destined to act simultaneously upon all the frontiers. The military forces of the kingdom were thus carried to an amount very much higher than they had ever before attained. The minister believed himself to be quite as great a general as he was a statesman, and undertook to carry on all the operations of the war from the depth of his closet. In his estimation, the principal quality in the generals he chose was obedience, and he divided the command of every army in such a manner that the leaders should watch each other, and no one believe himself sufficiently powerful to act upon his own perceptions. He thus, beforehand, thwarted the movements of his armies, and prepared awful reverses for them. His own experience in Piedmont ought to have taught him better; all his success had arisen from the head to think and the hand to act being upon the spot, and united in one person. He however commenced successfully. The army of the north, under Marshals Châtillon and Brézé, was to join in the Luxembourg with that of the States-general of Holland, for the purpose of driving the Spaniards from Belgium. The latter were commanded by Prince Thomas of Savoy, who took part with the house of Austria, whilst Duke Victor Amadeus, his elder brother, was constrained, much against his will, to assist France. Prince Thomas rashly attempted, with fifteen thousand men, to throw himself between the two divisions of the army of the north, with the view of destroying them separately: his temerity met with its punishment; they fell upon him, both at once, in the plains of Avaine, bore off fifty colours, and effected their junction with the Dutch, commanded by the prince of Orange, before Maëstricht. The united army amounted to fifty thousand men, and might have effected great

things, but the victorious troops abandoned themselves to the most frightful excesses ; the sack of Tilemont roused the before undecided Belgians ; they flew to arms, and thus gave time for the arrival of the imperial army under Piccolomini. This army forced the French to raise the siege of Louvaine, and confined them to inactivity till the end of the campaign.

The French armies in Germany, divided into several bodies, under the Marshal de la Force and the duke of Saxe-Weimar, were opposed on one side by the duke of Lorraine, who was beaten by La Force, at Montbeillard, and on the other by the celebrated Gallas, who was blockading a portion of the army of Bernard in Mayence, and holding that great general himself in check at Sarbruck. Richelieu confided a fresh army, of fifteen thousand men, to the Cardinal de la Valette, delighted at receiving a military command, who succeeded in joining and disengaging Bernard. Mayence was freed from blockade ; Bernard passed the Rhine and offered battle to Gallas, but he could not force him to accept the challenge. Disease and famine attacked his army ; it commenced a disastrous retreat, and re-entered Metz, reduced to half its former numbers. The duke of Lorraine recovered a part of his duchy, but was soon expelled from it again by a third army, commanded by Louis in person. The king attempted no great operation upon the Rhine ; he did not even cross the river ; and the wrecks of the three armies being brought together upon this frontier, covered Champagne and Lorraine, then menaced by the imperialists under Gallas and John de Worth.

Italy was the third theatre of the strategic operations of Richelieu. The princes allied with France—the dukes of Savoy, Parma, and Mantua—were to conquer the Milanese ; and Marshal Crequi, with 15,000 men, had orders to second them. Frequent altercations between the duke of Savoy and the marshal paralyzed all the move-

ments of the army, which, after advancing, failed in an attack upon Frascarolo, and was forced to raise the siege of Valenza. Crequi fell back upon France, abandoning the allied princes, whose territories were immediately invaded.

The French armies were only successful in the Valteline, where the Duke de Rohan succeeded in cutting off all communication between the imperialists of Lombardy and Austria. He maintained his ground, with five thousand men, in an insurgent country, against the generals Serbelloni and Fernamont, who attacked him with superior forces. A conqueror at Morbegno, Rohan repulsed Fernamont in the Tyrol, and then drove Serbelloni and the Spaniards from the Valteline, after the battle of Val du Preste. Upon this point alone the campaign of 1635 was honourable for France; the command had not been divided, and the intelligence which conceived was united with the will which executed. The reverses of this campaign produced serious reflections in France. The levies made to complete the armies of De la Force and of Fouquières were quickly dissipated by desertions, and by the infidelity of the captains and colonels, who caused themselves to be paid as if their companies had been full, although they did not consist of half their proper numbers.

They who were acquainted with the state of things were surprised to see a flourishing kingdom, well peopled, and with plenty of money, which professed to keep up an army of more than 150,000 men for the purpose of humbling the house of Austria, could not bring together more than 6,000 horse and 20,000 foot, to oppose an army of 50,000 men, and was in danger of soon seeing the standard of the emperor floating before Paris. This made it evident that the cardinal had rashly engaged in a war which could not be carried on, like court intrigues, by tricks, or infusing chimeras into the mind of the king.

On the king's return from the army, on the 22nd of October, the cardinal went as far as Neuilly to meet him, and was perfectly well received. Councils were held at Reul and St. Germain, the result of which was the arrest of the Count de Carmail, for having given Louis prudent advice ; but under the pretext of not having done his duty. On the same day, the cardinal told the Count de Soissons the king was extremely angry with him, and that he would do well to absent himself for some time from court, which hint the count immediately complied with. He was at the same time deprived of the title of general, which had been bestowed upon him ; and all this was done by the cardinal in revenge for the count having adroitly avoided marrying his niece. Nevertheless, shortly after, only to show his power, the cardinal capriciously recalled the count, and gave him the command of the army in Champagne.

The king shortened his expenses of all kinds, except for the war ; so that the governors of provinces, and the officers of the crown, would have been obliged to go without their wages and pensions, if means had not been found to make the kingdom pay them ; fresh impositions were quickly and unsparingly levied. Some had sufficient patriotism to prefer losing them to ruining the country ; but the greater part availed themselves of these means for securing all that was due to them, which excited great discontent.

But the minister cared very little about what might be thought of his exactions, provided he was obeyed. He was much more concerned at learning that the pope intended to recall Mazarin, whom he had sent to Paris in quality of an ambassador extraordinary, to promote general peace, and obtain the re-establishment of the house of Lorraine. Instead of acquitting himself of his commission, Mazarin thought of nothing but gaining the favour of the cardinal-duke ; and, since the affair of Casal,

he had always appeared so partial to France, that the Spaniards could not endure him. By their importunities, they prevailed upon the pope to recall him from France, and to order him to Avignon, to perform his duty of vice-legat. The cardinal did all in his power to detain him in France, or else to have him sent to Spain, to endeavour to dispose that crown for peace; that is, as he said; but the Spaniards believed it was only to serve as the French spy and agent in that court. The king also was desirous that the pope would join him with Cardinal Ginetti, who was talked of as likely to be sent to Cologne, to treat for peace. But the pope would not consent to anything of the kind, and Mazarin prepared for his journey to Avignon, with a determination of staying there as short a time as possible.

The court of Rome gave, likewise, another offence to the cardinal. The monks of Cîteaux and Piémontzé had elected him for their Abbé Général, and the pope refused to grant him the bulls for these benefices. He was already abbé of Cluny, which is Chef d'Ordre, and, consequently, Abbé Général of the Benedictines; so that he would have been head of the three richest orders in the kingdom. It was said in his favour, that these orders stood in great need of reform, and that it required a person of high rank like the cardinal to effect it; but the court of Rome was persuaded that it was a desire for domination, and not reform, which led him to covet these benefices. By this acquisition, in addition to the revenues, he would have had a great number of monks dependent upon him, and ready to support him in all he wished, either for the purpose of obtaining the benefices which are in the collation of the general of these orders, or to express their gratitude after having obtained them. It was feared, also, that he thought of declaring himself patriarch of France, or *legat à latere* for life, after the example of Cardinal d'Amboise; and that with this view,

he would try to subject the monks, as he had subjected the bishops and secular priests, by means of benefices, which the king only conferred according to his recommendation.

But if the court of Rome did not pay the cardinal all the respect he thought he merited, he, on his part, did not fail to give the retort courteous. He sent to Rome, as ambassador, the Marshal d'Etrées, whom he knew to be obnoxious to his holiness, and persisted in keeping him there, in spite of all remonstrances: it was even said that the rudeness of the marshal brought on the death of Paul V. The principal object of his mission was to induce the pope to behave with more mildness towards the duke of Parma. The duke's territory was a fief of the Holy See, and the pope feared that the duke's connection with the French would draw upon him the active enmity of the Spaniards, and thus jeopardize one of the few states of which he was suzerain. The marshal had likewise orders, as from the king, to recommend as often as he could Father Joseph as a candidate for a cardinal's hat. But the pope seized upon the excuse of his being a Capuchin, and firmly refused to grant it. The pope's denial says more for his logic than it does for the spirit that governed the dignitaries of the Church. He said, if he conferred the hat upon one Capuchin, it would be asked for by others of the same order; and thus this order, which was then so well regulated, would become corrupted by the ambition and thirst for benefices which pervaded other ecclesiastical bodies.

Before the armies were ready for the next year's campaign, the duke of Parma came to Paris to pay his respects to the king and the cardinal. The duke of Saxe-Weimar followed his example, and both were entertained with splendid hospitality; but the honours offered to the former being a shade more conspicuous than those bestowed upon the latter, jealousy was created between the

two generals, which augured badly for the campaign. What the duke of Parma gained in pleasure in Paris he lost in solid lands at home ; the Spaniards took advantage of his absence, and made themselves masters of several of his fortified places. Sensible observers began already to remark that the duke of Parma had rashly become an opponent to Spain for the sake of the chimerical hopes the cardinal-duke had flattered him with of being made master of a part of the Milanese, as soon as it should be conquered. He experienced on this occasion, that a neighbouring enemy is more redoubtable than a distant friend is useful, although the power of the latter be not at all inferior to that of the former.

The cardinal opened the campaign with as many armies as had taken the field the preceding year, and met with even great reverses. He hoped to subdue Franche-Comté, a Spanish province, towards which he despatched his best troops, under the command of the Prince de Condé ; but this army was obliged to be promptly recalled to defend France itself, which the imperialists had invaded. The cardinal-infant, Piccolomini, and John de Worth, had entered Picardy and Champagne with 40,000 thousand men ; and the Count de Soissons, no friend to Richelieu, with a feeble army, was the only defender of these provinces. Several cities fell into the hands of the invaders ; and, at length, Corbie, the last strong place on these frontiers, was taken, whilst a second imperial army, under Gallas and the king of Hungary, penetrated into Burgundy. The cardinal did all in his power to throw the blame of these misfortunes upon others, and even had governors condemned to death for high treason, for surrendering places which he had not afforded them the means of defending. A panic seized the Parisians, notwithstanding the presence of the king, and the constant arrival of fresh troops. Invectives of all kinds were directed against the cardinal for having engaged the

kingdom in this war without providing for the security of its frontiers, particularly those of Picardy, which were at so short a distance from the capital. As he was only beloved by his creatures, the people felt it some relief to their troubles to have an opportunity for telling him of all the evil known of him. He was not only told that he had no business with war, as it was not his trade, but he was accused of wishing to deliver Paris up to the Spaniards; and that it was for that purpose he had had the walls of the Faubourg of St. Honoré demolished, under the pretext of enlarging the city. Richelieu's proud spirit was almost subdued by reverses, just censures, and obloquies; and, when we hear how deeply he was affected, we almost wonder his delicate constitution sustained the shock. But his familiar came to the rescue; Father Joseph, who had made himself master of his mind, knew exactly the key upon which to strike, and quickly nerved him again for the struggle. To show his contempt for murmurs and threats, boldness of demeanour was necessary; the game was desperate: he overcame his usual timidity, and appeared in the public streets without his guards; a risk he had not ventured upon for years.

A short time before these calamities, either for the sake of diminishing the envy created by his inordinate wealth, or from some secret reason which history does not give us, he had begged the king to accept of a donation he was desirous to offer him. This great gift consisted of his Hôtel de Richelieu, or Le Palais Cardinal, his Chapelle de Diamants, his chased silver buffet, and his great diamond. He only reserved to himself the use of them during his life, with the exception of the captaincy and conciergery of the said hotel to the Dukes de Richelieu, his successors, and the property of the houses that would be built around the gardens. The king accepted of this donation, which, by an act passed on the 6th of June, could not be alienated from the crown. Alas! for the

permanency of men's acts! how often has this proud palace changed masters since, without the least regard to the builder's will! This act began by saying, *That the cardinal had formerly supplicated his majesty to add to the immense benefits he was already indebted to him for, the favour of allowing him to offer him some mark of his gratitude, which (however small in comparison with the infinite obligations he had to so good a master) would, at least, prove to posterity that it was not want of affection, but the extreme disproportion that there was between a subject and his sovereign, and he the first king in the world, which prevented him rendering to him greater proofs of the sense he entertained of his benefits.* The cardinal's historian adds: "With whatever view this gift was made, it is at least certain, that after this the king could not accuse him of avarice, and had less reason to suspect him of want of fidelity in the untoward accidents which marked this year." With the latter part of this sentence, we in some degree accord, but not at all with the former. Richelieu was, perhaps, as essentially a selfish man as ever lived. He had no children, and his relations, he through the whole of his career treated as puppets, of which he governed the strings for his own advantage. Where, then, was the generosity of the gift, or the proof of his want of avarice? The palace was built, the diamonds and plate were bought—he *was to enjoy the use of them as long as he lived*, and he could not have devised any means of disposing of them so much to his own personal and live-long advantage as that he adopted. Instead of exciting the envy of the king, he gave birth to his gratitude, as, of course, the king, like other men, expected to be the longer liver. The expenditure for all that was given was made, and the cardinal could not have sold any part of it without derogation of dignity: the houses round the gardens, which would bring in rent, were not parted from. A feudal baron, who had amassed great wealth by plun-

dering all his neighbours, and was warmly pressed by a priest on his death-bed to purchase mercy by restoring his ill-got wealth to the injured parties, gasped out: "Well, I will restore it,—*but let me keep it till I die!*" Now this man acted better than the cardinal did: the latter did not restore his wealth to the people from whom he had extorted it; he only left it to the powerful man who had sanctioned his robberies, and even partaken of the spoil.

The efforts made by the French in this extremity may be judged of by the following passage, which we give at length, as characteristic of the times. "All the public bodies of Paris offered their services to the king, and consented to the immediate imposition of new taxes. All young men capable of bearing arms in Paris and its environs were commanded to serve. They who had several lackeys were obliged to give up one, as were workmen who had more than one apprentice. Building in Paris was stopped, for the purpose of enrolling the carpenters and masons. The king ordered that all persons having more than one pair of carriage-horses should give up one for the use of the artillery or the cavalry; and that all gentlemen, all who were exempt from the *taille*, and all the officers of his household, should assemble in arms at St. Denis within six days." On the 1st of September, the king was at the head of forty thousand foot, twelve thousand horse, and a train of forty pieces of cannon. Monsieur was declared generalissimo of this army, and the Count de Soissons lieutenant-general, which was done more for the sake of bringing them to good humour than to favour them. The cardinal, with his usual military zeal, wanted to be generalissimo, and to have the Count de Soissons under him, but the count refused to serve as his lieutenant. Although the army was strong enough to drive the enemy from Picardy, the danger the country had been in, together with the affairs of Italy and Burgundy, threw the king into so profound a melancholy, that he

was dissatisfied with everybody and everything. The cardinal ventured to remonstrate with him on his low spirits and want of firmness, which only produced great coolness on the part of his majesty towards his minister. He would scarcely see him, and answered him so sharply when he spoke to him of state affairs, that the cardinal lost heart, and neglected to give necessary orders. It was observed that, contrary to his custom, he bestowed many civilities upon persons he had before despised. He one day even asked St. Ybal, whom he hated because he was attached to the party of the Count de Soissons, his opinion upon a matter of consequence. Still further, he invited him to supper, and St. Ybal was delighted to see his proud spirit so humbled by the fear that the progress of the enemy would bring on his ruin. He at length became so depressed in body and mind, that if Father Joseph, to whom he revealed his most secret thoughts, had not encouraged him, he was on the point of abandoning his ministry, and thus incurring certain destruction at the pleasure of his enemies. But the Capuchin having revived his courage, he resolved to apply himself more earnestly than ever to affairs.

This extraordinary depression on the part of Richelieu, we consider a proof of his not having a great mind. An honest and able minister does not yield to difficulties, any more than the skilful seaman trembles at the storm, or the brave soldier blanches in the face of the enemy. A powerful and well-ordered mind is stimulated and roused to action by such obstructions ; it feels it to be the moment to prove its superiority, and acquires strength instead of sinking into imbecility. But Richelieu's was an acute, and not a great mind ; his wisdom consisted in cunning, his most powerful agent was duplicity ; and such qualities are not equal to contend with great emergencies.

The army of the Spaniards was not strong enough to contend with that of the king, and they retraced their

steps without having had time to secure their conquests. Corbie was besieged, by the advice of the cardinal and the Marshal de Chatillon, in opposition to the opinion of the Count de Soissons, and, after three assaults, was surrendered by capitulation. No other important advantage was gained in any quarter during this campaign. Crequi won the sanguinary battle of Tornavente; but the victory produced no result.

The recovery of Corbie seemed to restore the cardinal's spirits, and re-establish his reputation, which had been much damaged by the successes of the Spaniards. He, however, incurred blame for having made the duke of Orleans and the Count de Soissons joint commanders in the same army, both being his enemies. With that sort of self-deceiving cunning, which we maintain to have been the fundamental principle of most of his policy, he flattered himself that the haughtiness of De Soissons would clash with the arrogance of Monsieur, and that their servants, whose interests were opposite, would irritate them against each other. But just the contrary took place; both princes had long been enemies of the cardinal, and their juncture, by giving opportunities for confidential expressions of their griefs, only served to heighten their hatred against him. They were led to believe that if they became strictly united, they would draw into their party the houses of Guise, Vendôme, Bouillon, D'Epernon, and De Retz, all of whom he had ill-treated, and who were much dissatisfied. Monsieur and the count being at Peronne, held a council upon the best means of ruining the cardinal. Some were of opinion that the king should be adroitly informed that the bad conduct of the minister was the cause of all the misfortunes of the kingdom, and that he had engaged it in a war, which he vainly imagined himself able to conduct, although he was much more capable of exciting civil wars than repelling foreign ones. The other opinion was, that it would be best to get rid of

the cardinal at once, which would put an end to all disturbances and destructive intrigues. At this period, assassination seems to have been looked upon by high-born and otherwise honourable men as legitimate. The king himself had set the example, in the person of Concini, and here was a council of nobles, presided over by princes of the blood, which unhesitatingly pronounced for murder of the basest kind. What had become of the boasted chivalric spirit of France? The deed being determined upon, the execution of it was confided to four persons, one of whom was the servant of Monsieur, and the other three followers of the Count de Soissons.

During the siege of Corbie, the king lodged in a castle near Amiens, and only entered the city, where the cardinal was lodged, to hold councils, after which he returned to the castle. Monsieur and the count resolved that on a certain day they would come to the council, attended by a number of officers, and when the king should return to his quarters, they would remain with the cardinal, and afford the four men an opportunity of killing him. They repaired to the city with this design, and the council having sat, the king retired as usual. One of the four men approaching the duke and the count, asked in a whisper if they persisted in their design. They answered in the affirmative, and the man made a signal to the others to draw near, whilst the two princes held the cardinal in talk at the bottom of the stairs leading from the council-chamber. The only thing now wanting was the signal agreed upon, which was to be given by the duke, and the cardinal could not possibly have escaped. But at the anxious moment, the duke suddenly left the side of the cardinal, and ran upstairs, in a state of violent agitation, into the chamber, followed by one of the conspirators, endeavouring to detain him; but the duke did not stop till he had gained the top of the stairs. It was in vain the man represented to him that he was losing the finest

opportunity, and that nothing could be more easy than the execution of their project; the duke was in such a state of confusion that he uttered nothing but broken, ambiguous sentences, and could not collect himself so far as to sanction the deed. The count continued to converse with the cardinal for some time; one of the conspirators being behind him, and the others at a short distance from him. Monsieur's unexpected absence naturally made the conspirators turn inquiring glances upon each other, which struck the ever-wakeful suspicion of the cardinal, and he made a precipitate retreat to his carriage. He did not learn the danger he had been in till some time after; but he never again trusted himself in the hands of his enemies. The princes afterwards said, that they were restrained by the recollection of the cardinal's being a priest. A weak and absurd excuse; they knew he was a priest when they planned the murder; the execution of it was only prevented by the weakness of Gaston's character.

This affair having failed, the duke and count determined to pursue the other course, and ruin the cardinal in the mind of the king. In order the more easily to effect their purpose, they thought it best to engage the dukes d'Epemon, de la Valette, Bouillon, and de Retz in their scheme; and sent persons to make them acquainted with it. But this only served to discover their designs, without strengthening their party. The cardinal, aware that something was going on, judged it to be advisable to separate them, and prevent their residence at court, by making them believe that the king intended to have them arrested. When, therefore, they went to Paris, by order of the king, the cardinal remaining in Picardy, he had this false intelligence conveyed to them with so much address, that two nights after they received it they both took flight; Monsieur returning to Blois without having seen the king, and the Count de Soissons taking shelter

in Sedan, without paying his farewell compliments to his majesty.

When they were no longer at court, it was not difficult for the cardinal to persuade the king to anything ; and as the princes gave it out that they had left Paris for fear of being arrested, he was much offended, having had no intention of the sort. The next day, Monsieur sent the king a very submissive letter ; to which his majesty replied in the most affectionate terms. The cardinal likewise wrote to him, with numerous offers of service ; and reproached him in a bland and friendly tone with the facility with which he equally received good and bad advice.

The Count de Soissons, who was of a more haughty and spirited character, wrote the king a letter filled with reproaches, in which he complained that as a recompense for his services, he was compelled to take refuge with a friend, to avoid a prison. The king, however, was not much offended by his complaints, and sent him word that he had entertained no idea of having him arrested, and that if fear alone had driven him out of the kingdom, he was quite willing he should remain where he was, in the enjoyment of his property and all his pensions, provided he lived like a quiet and good subject.

The duke of Orleans who still professed to be attached to the Count de Soissons, appeared tolerably satisfied with the manner in which he was treated, and with the mildness exhibited towards himself.

Several persons were sent to endeavour to reassure him, and Chavigny at length extorted a promise from him that he would be no longer guided by the counsels of the Count de Soissons, and a written document, in which he implored the king to put an end to all the suspicion and mistrust that created so much unhappiness. This could be done, he said, if the king would consent to his marriage,

or constitute him, the duke, judge of its propriety. If the king adopted the latter plan, he demanded a place of security, to enable him to give his opinion without risk. The duke added that he hoped the Count de Soissons would be treated with equal lenity.

Chavigny soon returned to Blois, with a written paper from the king, saying that if Monsieur positively insisted upon maintaining the validity of his marriage, his majesty would sanction it, provided his brother would promise that he would not espouse the cause of the house of Lorraine, or undertake anything prejudicial to the welfare of the kingdom. After various negotiations, artfully and cautiously carried on by the cardinal, the vacillating duke consented to an almost unconditional reconciliation, and pretended to have a violent fit of the gout, as an excuse for not joining the Count de Soissons at Sedan. To prove our assertion that the cardinal's proceedings were artful, we point out one of them. Gaston was very earnest for the liberation of some of his partisans; the cardinal said there was nothing unreasonable in the request, their offence was not great, the king would most likely extend his clemency to them; but the only one that did escape from durance was the Abbé de la Rivière, who undertook to second and assist Gonlas, the duke's secretary, occupying that post as Richelieu's creature and spy. In spite of all Gaston's remonstrances, prayers, and reasonings, the cardinal would not grant him a place of security.

But such a character as that of the duke, and in such a position, could not be left in quiet, even if he had desired it; disaffected nobles were constantly urging him to rebellion, and the cardinal was at length obliged to place him in a kind of confinement, by posting troops round the environs of Blois, with orders to arrest him if he wanted to go to any distance. Long and various messages ensued, on both parts, the cardinal acting towards the count and the duke according to the feelings he entertained for them

in his own mind : the duke of Orleans he heartily despised, but, at the same time, feared to offend him, as the presumptive heir of his sickly master ; Soissons he cordially hated, without fearing him : the duke, therefore, was cajoled and coaxed, the count was treated haughtily, and would not have escaped half so well, but from consideration for Gaston.

As was to be expected in such a dispute, the cardinal prevailed over the duke, who came to court, and was kindly received by the king and his ministers, though even the pliable race of courtiers could scarcely refrain from showing the contempt they entertained for him. The triumphant cardinal had scarcely so much self-command ; for, in the midst of fulsome compliments, he introduced several smiling but satirical allusions to the prince's weakness, which he called goodness of heart.

Soissons was not only of a different temperament, but was very much beloved by the soldiery. He was provoked at being excluded from Gaston's amnesty, and entered into correspondence with the queen-mother and the court of Spain. The cardinal was alarmed at this, and sent La Crusette, in the name of the Countess de Soissons, his mother, then in Paris, to bring him to reason. This gentleman worked so successfully upon the honour of the count, with which he was well acquainted, as to prevent his signing any dangerous treaty till he heard how far the king was willing to comply with his demands. The cardinal dreaded having such a discontented spirit in a state of activity, whilst he, the king, and the army, would be engaged in the next campaign, and granted nearly everything the count asked. Articles were signed, and the count had to make the best excuses he was able to the queen-mother and the infant of Spain, for breaking off the negotiations he had commenced. His firmness obtained much better conditions than the duke of Orleans' mean subserviency had done. The cardinal, who

was so haughty to those he did not fear, easily stooped before all who were able to make him fear them.

It was not the same with the poor queen-mother, for whom the king and queen of England warmly interceded with her son, towards the end of 1637. She had sent Monsiget to London, with instructions to get the king and queen to beg that she might be restored to her position, and that the grace might be extended to her followers. But as Charles I. was not feared in France, and Mary de Medici, if possible, less so, scarcely a civil answer of refusal was vouchsafed.

The Emperor Ferdinand II. died this year. His son, who succeeded him, under the name of Ferdinand III., obliged the Duke de Rohan to evacuate the Valteline, notwithstanding the positive commands of Richelieu to the contrary. Rohan placed his forces under the command of Guébriant, and served as a volunteer with the duke of Saxe-Weimar. Victor-Amadeus, a very insincere ally of France, died about the same period, leaving his throne to a son of tender age, and the regency of his states to his widow, Christina, a sister of Louis XIII. The war was carried on with various success; but the only incident in which we find the cardinal personally concerned, arose from a little difference between him and the king, with regard to the siege of La Capelle; but Richelieu easily appeased him by getting the leaders of the army, every one appointed by himself, to sign an attestation of the correctness of his views.

About this time the cardinal became very jealous of the influence of the Duchess de Chevreuse over the mind of the queen. It is a problem not very easily to be solved, why a discarded mistress should be more hated than any other person; but so it is, and Madame de Chevreuse stood in this relation to Richelieu. A man was arrested for keeping up the connection between the two ladies, in a manner that plainly told the queen she must be accountable to the cardinal for every intimacy she formed. The

superior of the Val de Grace, who was accused of being concerned in this intrigue, was also transferred to another convent. Everything that offended the minister was an affair of state, and it was punished more severely than if it concerned the person of the king. A correspondence with the court of Spain was the ostensible cause of this disturbance. Watched by a jealous husband and a lynx-eyed enemy, it was natural for Anne of Austria, still a young woman, with the affections warm in her heart, to seek for some consolation in an intercourse with her family, and this could possibly only be carried on secretly. All the discoveries from shamefully-obtained letters only amounted to anxious expression of a desire for peace between the two countries, which she hinted could not take place while the cardinal remained in power: but this latter opinion was quite enough to constitute the writing of it a state crime.

Although of a cold temperament, and little accessible to the shafts of love, Louis, in more instances than one, evinced a strong partiality for female society. Madame de Hauteville and Mademoiselle de la Fayette, we believe made a stronger impression upon his affections than any person he was connected with during his life: and yet these attachments were purely Platonic. It must have been a relief to the poor monarch to escape from the endless lessons, remonstrances, and threats of his master, the cardinal, to the soothing society of such a woman as Mademoiselle de la Fayette, who was good as she was pleasing, and never employed her influence over her friend to an evil purpose. It was owing to this amiable lady that a momentary reconciliation took place between the king and the queen, of which Louis XIV. was the fruit. In the beginning of December the king left Versailles, with the purpose of sleeping at St. Maur. In passing through Paris, he stopped at the convent of the Filles de St. Marie, to pay a visit to Mademoiselle de la Fayette,

who had become a member of that sisterhood, principally from the machinations of the jealous cardinal, but whom he took every opportunity of seeing. Whilst they were conversing, a violent storm arose, which rendered it impossible for him to return to Versailles, or to go on to St. Maur, to which place his bed, his provisions, and other appointments had been sent. The storm continuing with unabated violence, and night coming on, he became, as the historians say, much embarrassed: his chamber at the Louvre was not prepared, and he knew not where to pass the night. Such a difficulty in Paris, and near to his palace, gives us a strange idea of the accommodation of a monarch in those days. But if this appears surprising, his resource was still more odd, if considered as a discovery. Guitant, the captain of his guards, who was accustomed to speak to him with freedom, when his majesty expressed his anxiety about his night's lodging, ventured to suggest that he thought he had better go to the Louvre, and sleep with the queen. He would be sure, he said, to find a supper there, and an apartment properly prepared. The king raised all sorts of weak objections, saying, the queen supped and went to bed too late for him; but Mademoiselle de la Fayette and the captain overruled all he advanced; he consented, more from his love of comforts than of the queen; Guitant flew to the palace to announce his coming; supper was forwarded to suit his taste; the queen received him kindly,—and nine months after that stormy night, Louis XIV., surnamed *Dieu-donné*, was born.

The war continued, and was only successful on the Rhine, where Saxe-Weimar, after having been beaten at Rheinfeld, surprised the Austrians amidst the intoxication of triumph, obtained a complete victory, and made four of their generals prisoners. The operations upon the Spanish frontiers were directed by Cardinal Saudis, archbishop of Bordeaux, and the Prince de Condé; they

were forced in their lines by the admiral of Castille, and compelled to raise the seige of Fontarabia disgracefully.

- The duchess of Savoy, although the sister of Lous XIII., was at a great loss, in her peculiar position, to avoid having the territories of her young son wrested from her by either France or Spain. She knew she could put but little dependence upon the affection of the king, and none upon the faith of his minister. The cardinal advised her to place no troops in her fortified places of whose fidelity she was not certain ; and, although she might behave with civility to them, she must on no account admit the brothers of the late duke into her dominions. The ambassador of Savoy, to whom the cardinal addressed this advice, then said, that he conceived the best way to keep every one to his duty would be for the duchess to make peace with Spain ; to which the cardinal replied : “that she might expect everything from her brother that could be advantageous for the house of Savoy, even if injurious to his own crown ; but he saw no security in a separate peace.” The two brothers, aware of the construction that might be put upon their appearance in Savoy, they being open enemies of France, sent their condolences to their sister-in-law by trusty messengers. They at the same time warned her against the insidious policy of the French minister, who was not unlikely, under the pretence of protection, to seize upon all the states of Piedmont and Savoy. Peace then for her, Prince Thomas said, was most desirable ; for if Savoy became the theatre of action for the two contending nations, its destruction was inevitable. Besides, he added, she must not think the war was carried on for the benefit of her brother, the king of France, or of his kingdom ; all Europe knew that it was maintained solely for the purpose of continuing the cardinal in his post.

Towards the end of 1837 the cardinal perceived that the

king became exceedingly melancholy, and did all he could to ascertain the cause. As the king was incapable of concealing anything, and as every one who was allowed to approach his person, except his confessor, was a creature of the cardinal's, he soon learnt that his majesty was suffering from conscientious scruples at leaving his mother in a state of banishment after she had made so many concessions. Richelieu was quite aware that the king was incapable of either good or evil thoughts but at the instigation of another; and soon discovered that it was his confessor who had introduced these feelings into his mind. This Jesuit fondly imagined that he was master of the king's conscience, and dreamt of quickly ruining the minister, against whom he had already ventured to insinuate into the royal ear many evil reports, as it were, in passing. This was a dangerous enterprise, on account of the implacable disposition of the cardinal, if it did not succeed; and on account of the weakness of the king, who would be sure to tell his minister everything. Father Caussin, nevertheless, after having a long time deliberated, and waited for a favourable opportunity of speaking openly to the king against the conduct of his minister, believed he had found it, and began by representing to him as strongly as he could all he had to blame in him. He said he ought to be dismissed for four principal reasons. The first was the exile of the queen-mother, who was left in such a state of indigence as to be destitute of the necessaries of life: this reason seemed to affect his majesty. The second was, that the cardinal usurped the whole royal authority; that nothing was left to his majesty but the bare title of king, and the whole kingdom had recourse to the cardinal as the supreme arbiter of all favours. The third reason was the oppression of the people, who were reduced to the lowest state of misery by exorbitant taxes. The fourth was the cause of religion, which the cardinal wished to destroy, as appeared by the

succours he had given to the Swedes and the Protestants of Germany, whom he had rendered more formidable than they ever were.

When Father Caussin had finished speaking, the king appeared considerably agitated, although the confessor had said nothing that was not notoriously public, and of which nobody doubted except the king. He seemed quite disposed to dismiss the cardinal, provided the Jesuit could point out any person capable of taking his place; but that was a point the confessor had never thought of, so little competent was he in his simplicity to conduct an affair of this importance. The king then asked Caussin if he were willing to maintain all he had said face to face with the cardinal. The Jesuit was a little embarrassed at this question, as he knew what sort of a man he had to deal with; but summoning courage from integrity, he replied, "he had no objection, as he had advanced nothing that was not perfectly true." The king then desired him to come for that purpose on a day appointed, which was the 8th of December.

Whilst waiting for this day, Father Caussin found himself strangely embarrassed; particularly when he reflected that he could place no confidence in the firmness of the king, and that he had everything to fear from the terrible minister. After having seriously meditated upon the best line of conduct to be pursued, he resolved to impart all that had taken place to the duke of Angoulême, and try to induce him to occupy the place of the first minister. The Jesuit made the proposition accordingly; and the duke was more astonished at the rashness of him who had formed such an idea, than he was seduced by the flattering prospect held out to him. He, however, feigned to yield to his reasons, filled him with hopes, and promised to support him with all his strength. Father Caussin then became impatient for the appointed day, in which he might maintain before the cardinal all the accusations he

had brought against him. He expected to see the cardinal in an awful rage, but he was resolved to expose him at whatever risk it might be.

But we must not severely blame either the temerity or the simplicity of the Jesuit; a short retrospective glance will show us that the king's conduct warranted his conduct.

Father Caussin, who had passed his life in the offices of his profession, and in the study of the *belles lettres*, which had taught him a love of the good and the beautiful without giving him any idea of what are called state affairs, was shocked, when appointed confessor—apparently on account of the simplicity of his character—at the principles of government which Richelieu imparted to his master, and he repeated to his confessor. Louis listened voluntarily to the expressions of disgust of the father; and when he felt any little pique against his minister, as he did almost daily, would speak with the greatest freedom against him. He one day said to Caussin, “It is a strange thing that the cardinal cannot be contented with tyrannising over my people—he wants to tyrannise over me too. Misery and poverty are everywhere; and yet in his house gold and silver are in heaps. He has a number of benefices, and never says his breviary; he says he is dispensed from that by reciting the *heures de la croix* (a very short office), and I don't believe he ever says them. He would have me always live at St. Germain-en-Laie, on account of his Ruel. I have lost my love for hunting. I should wish to give him a lodging in the palace, so that we might hold a council at any time, but he won't hear of it.”

The cardinal, in whom the conversations of the king and his confessor inspired jealousy and uneasiness, often contrived to interrupt them. As he was never refused the *entrée* to the royal closet, as soon as he knew the king was shut up with his confessor he entered unexpectedly,

under the pretence of having some new or important affair to communicate to his majesty, but solely for the purpose of interrupting or taking a part in the conversation, and of judging, by the manner of his reception, whether Father Caussin had been speaking against him to the king. That monarch, not daring to close the door against him, for fear of exciting his suspicions, adopted another mode of getting rid of him. Knowing enough Latin to understand that of the Holy Scriptures, he took from them divers passages, of which he composed little offices for his own private use, upon the principal festivals of the year; upon the most remarkable saints of France; upon the precious blood of Christ; upon the graces he hoped to derive from it—such as peace of mind, true penitence, purity of heart, and preparations for dying in a Christianlike manner. He collected a great number of these; and when he had finished his work he had it printed at the Louvre, in 1640. When he had composed new offices he showed them to Father Caussin, without hesitating to suspend the examination of them till they had had a little chat about state affairs, and the conduct of the Cardinal de Richelieu. As soon as the minister opened the door, they applied themselves to the reading of the offices, as if it had been their only employment; and Richelieu seeing them very busy seeking passages in the Bible, or correcting some passage of the office they were examining, retired very well pleased at finding that the king, instead of criticising his conduct, employed his time in such a manner. When he was gone, the king would turn to the Jesuit and say, with a smile, “These little offices perform a great office for us!”

The bishopric of Mans being vacant, Father Caussin suggested to the king that the Abbé de la Ferté, one of his almoners, might be properly promoted to the vacant see. The king appointed him, without mentioning the matter to the cardinal, who, however, was soon made

aware of it, and set out directly from Ruel for the purpose of considering with his majesty the state of the benefices; but instead of complaining of the king having bestowed this bishopric in an irregular way, without consulting him, he pretended to be ignorant that the king had made a nomination, and, as of himself, proposed the Abbé de la Ferté as a proper person to fill the see, saying that it was but just his majesty should recompense the officers of his chapel. The king, not daring to confess to the cardinal that he had disposed of it of his own authority, feigned to approve of the choice, as if the nomination had not been already made—and the cardinal had all the honour of it in the eyes of the public; but he retained a warm resentment for Father Caussin, whom he suspected of having proposed the Abbé Ferté to the king. These incidents had encouraged Father Caussin in his hopes, but how could he rely upon the principles or the firmness of a monarch who had answered him, when he once implored him to pay the dowry of Mary de Medici, who only requested an asylum and a moderate revenue,—“I should like to comply with her wishes, but I should not dare to speak about it to monsieur the cardinal; if you could obtain it of him, I should be very glad!” And this was a king of France, who was proud of being called the just, and is celebrated by historians as the great and victorious! Above all, it was the son of Henry IV. who thus meanly succumbed beneath the frown of a priest!

But if we think Caussin had something like encouragement for his bold attempt, we cannot find any excuse for the conduct of the duke of Angoulême, except in that base truckling policy with which the cardinal seems to have imbued all who approached him.

After the duke of Angoulême had left the house of the Jesuit, a moment's reflection made him determine which part to take; he hastened at once to Ruel, and repeated to the cardinal all he had heard. This base conduct was

generally and justly condemned : it may be said that the duke was certain no dependence could be placed upon the king's firmness, and that the affair could not possibly succeed ; in which event, he knew equally well, that if the cardinal learnt from any other mouth than his own the confidence Father Caussin had placed in him, he would never pardon him. But this does not at all exonerate him with respect to the Jesuit ; he knew that he confided in him as an honourable man, and he ought not to have misled him by fair yet false promises ; but honour and rectitude were very rare principles in the reign of Louis XIII.

The cardinal thanked his informant for his intelligence, assured him that he should not find him ungrateful, and then went straight to St. Germain's. He related to the king all that had passed, and proved that the four heads of accusation were false, by a style of reasoning which Louis had, for a long time, been compelled to acknowledge convincing. He pointed out the danger there was in listening to the babbling of busy mischievous people, and said it was not fit such a man as Caussin should be about his majesty's person. As for himself, he added, he was weary of being thus misrepresented ; he ardently wished to retire from office, and enjoy a little quiet ; he would do so, but his conscience told him it was his duty to adhere to his master as long as his services could be useful to him.

The confessor went to St. Germain's on the appointed day, and on going into the antechamber as usual, was informed that the king was closeted with the cardinal. The length of the conference was of bad augury for the Jesuit, and as soon as it was over, Des Noyes came from the king, and told him that his majesty would not perform his devotions that day, and he might return to Paris. He judged by this message that all was lost ; and that same evening an exempt of the guards seized his papers, and conveyed him

to Quimpercorentin, in Brittany, where he remained till the king's death.

The illustrious general, the duke of Saxe-Weimar, died in 1639. France purchased his conquests, and took his army in pay, giving the command of the latter to the Duke de Longueville, who, in concert with Count de Guébriant, crossed the Rhine, and carried on the campaign of two years beyond that river, without any decided success, but, at the same time, without any serious reverses. All Richelieu's efforts were then directed towards Flanders, into which country he marched three armies, under La Meilleraye, Châtillon, and Feuquières. The king determined upon being present at the operations of these armies, but events did not answer his expectations. Feuquières' was destroyed by Piccolomini, at Thionville; Châtillon, deprived of the concurrence of his colleague, only obtained unimportant successes; and La Meilleraye's were confined to the taking of Hesdin, which place he carried before the eyes of the king, and received a marshal's baton upon the breach. The campaign was more brilliant in Piedmont; but this country was, at that period, a complete centre of intrigues. The duchess of Savoy had a Jesuit for a confessor, named Father Monod, who had, as was the wont with that fraternity, great influence over the mind of his mistress. He had evinced considerable zeal in the service of the house of Savoy, and the late duke had employed him frequently in state affairs. This man, partly on his own account, and partly by the wish of the duchess, was anxious to procure the return of Mary de Medici to France. So completely was Savoy in the power of France, or rather of the cardinal, that the duchess did not dare to offer her mother an asylum; and, therefore, we may easily conceive that she countenanced the views of her confessor. He made a journey to France, and, as it afterwards appeared, had been the principal means of urging Father Caussin—than whom he was much

more subtle—to make his late unfortunate attempt. The cardinal-duke, who never seemed at a loss where his interests were concerned, very soon became acquainted with the share Monod had taken in Caussin's affair, and after having got rid of the latter, employed all his efforts to banish the former from the court and confidence of the duchess. He caused her to be informed that the king, having great cause for mistrust against Father Monod, requested she would dismiss him from her service. The duchess being partial to her confessor, and seeing no reason for parting with him, would not consent to it, but tried to disabuse the cardinal respecting his character. But Richelieu, who never hated by halves, only pressed for his dismissal the more earnestly, and told her it was impossible for the king to live on good terms with his sister, and afford her his protection, if she retained Monod in her court. At length, under the pretext that Monod favoured the pretensions of Cardinal Maurice of Savoy, and his brother Prince Thomas, although the duchess had proofs to the contrary, she was compelled to consent to his being arrested. The Jesuit was informed of this, and tried to dissappoint his enemy by escape ; but he was taken on the frontiers, and conveyed to Montmelian, where he remained a prisoner till the cardinal's death.

The poor duchess had a difficult part to perform ; there could be no question but that perfect neutrality would be most beneficial to the interests of herself, her son, and his states, and to this her brothers-in-law advised her. But this did not suit the views of the cardinal-duke ; and he insisted upon the duchess-regent entering upon war, as it must have appeared for mere caprice, she having no quarrel with the Spaniards. All this, however, led to extravagant pretensions being formed by the princes of Savoy : they knew the duchess was the sister of Louis, and were not ignorant of the insidious policy of his minister ; in order, therefore, to preserve the territories

of the duchy in the family, they had recourse to the king of Spain, promising, as is usual in such cases, some strong places in Piedmont as his reward. The duchess was then compelled to solicit the aid of the king; Richelieu confided an army to his warlike brother cardinal, De la Valette, and he, under the pretence of protecting the son of Victor-Amadeus, invaded the half of his states, but died of a contagious fever, whilst carrying on a war so unworthy of having been conceived by one Christian churchman and executed by another. Richelieu gave him an able successor in Henry de Lorraine, Count de Harcourt, who revictualled Casal, then besieged by the Spaniards, and afterwards effected a fine retreat from Chiari to Carignano, in face of the very superior forces of Prince Thomas, and Leganez, whom he conquered at the battle of La Rotta.

The principal belligerent powers—France, the Empire, and Spain—notwithstanding some partial success, derived no permanent benefit from this long, disastrous war, which really seemed kept up by the governing ministers of Philip IV. and Louis XIII.—Olivarez and Richelieu—to gratify their own ambition, and display their hatred for each other. France was exhausted by it, and Richelieu had recourse to the most shameful expedients to procure the necessary subsidies: he seized the funds of the Hotel de Ville, cast the holders who ventured to complain into the Bastille, and forbade the Parliaments to protect them; he weakened the consideration of the magistracy by selling a vast number of fresh judicial places; and, notwithstanding his financial difficulties, the very reverses of the army seemed to increase his obstinacy and make him more persistent in the war. On every occasion where the finances are the subject, we find Richelieu no minister: he adopted the readiest, the commonest, and most disgraceful means of raising money; there was no knowledge of the real resources and powers of the country

displayed in his taxation—none of that which may be called invention of imposts which distinguishes a fertile and active brain when honestly employed. If that which is really the mission of a great minister—the welfare of the body of the people, be taken for anything, few men have less deserved that title than he.

In looking through the events of this war for circumstances relating to the object of our biography, independently of his spirit being found fomenting it on all occasions, we only find the following characteristic incident. Marshal Châtillon having needlessly desolated Artois, laid siege to St. Omer; and the place not being in a very good condition, he hoped to take it in a short time. But Prince Thomas threw succours into the town, and delayed the hopes of the marshal, though he still fancied he should succeed. But at length the same prince and Piccolomini compelled the marshal to raise the siege, although he had a second time thrown succours in, and had been joined by the Marshal de la Force. The cardinal was quite enraged at this circumstance, not only from his regard for the interests of the crown, but because he had been flattered by the pretended revelation of a nun of the convent of Mont Calvaire, in Le Marêts, that the place would be taken. This story came by the medium of his worthy coadjutor Father Joseph, who, having consulted the nun, told the cardinal that this nun had passed three days in prayer to obtain from God a revelation of the issue of the campaign; and that at length she had fallen into an ecstasy, in which she had seen two armies fighting near St. Omer, and that the victory remained with the army of the king. Upon this silly vision, which might owe its existence to the disordered imagination of the nun, or, as is more likely, to the invention of the artful Capuchin, the cardinal consented to the siege of St. Omer in preference to any other place. If the attempt had been successful, the cardinal and his

confessor would not have failed to attribute honour to this revelation, and made it pass as a sensible proof that Heaven approved of the conduct of the minister.

The king was so irritated at the conduct of Châtillon in this affair, that he sent him orders to resign the command of the army to De la Force, to retire to his estate of Châtillon, and not to make his appearance at court. Châtillon, however, saw the cardinal at St. Quentin, and was not badly received ; the minister judging it prudent not to go too far with a general who might be useful upon another occasion.

Notwithstanding the general joy at the queen's pregnancy, the cardinal did not discontinue his annoying persecutions of that princess, and even offered her insults that might have proved prejudicial to her health.

Louis XIV. was born on the 5th of September, which, somewhat remarkably, was the birth-day of Richelieu. This event almost put an end to the cabals of the nobles, a great part of which was founded upon the hopes that Gaston would succeed to the throne. It likewise appeared probable that it would diminish the favour of the minister, who had taken such pains to draw upon himself the hatred of the queen ; but Louis's servitude had become a habit which he could not have shaken off if he had been inclined, and the cardinal's authority experienced no check. This same year the queen-mother went into Holland, where she was very well received ; and from thence into England, to endeavour to persuade Charles I. and his queen to renew their efforts for her return to France. Bellièvre was then ambassador to England ; and, notwithstanding his wish to avoid her, she contrived to get an opportunity of speaking to him. She told him that for some time past she had sought every means of giving the Cardinal de Richelieu to understand that she was desirous of returning to France by his intervention, but had not been able to procure an answer ; the

only promise that had been held out to her was upon such a condition as she never would comply with. The ambassador interrupted her, and begged her to remember that the king had sent him ambassador to the king of England, but that he had not that honour with respect to her. He added, that if she meant by what she said to command him to write anything to France, he entreated her not to charge him with any commission concerning her majesty. The queen replied that he had not been forbidden to do so ; and the ambassador repeated that he had received no orders to that effect. The queen answered that that was of no consequence, and implored him to listen to her. She said that the afflictions she had undergone since her departure from France had given birth to sentiments quite contrary to those she entertained when she quitted that kingdom. She begged him to let the cardinal know that she conjured him to extricate her from the misery and necessity of asking for bread. She earnestly wished to be near the king, not for the purpose of meddling with state affairs, but to pass the short remainder of her life in peace, and employ it in serving God, and preparing to die properly. If the cardinal could not obtain permission of the king for her return to court, he might, at least, persuade him to allow her to live in some part of France, whichever would be most agreeable to him, where he might provide for her support. She would dismiss from her service all who were either suspected by him or were disagreeable to him, and was ready to do all the king ordered her to do, or the cardinal advised her to do. This was all, she said, she wished him to tell the cardinal, because she believed that they whom she had before commissioned had not acquitted themselves faithfully. The ambassador replied, " that she should not have to complain of him on that account, for he would not undertake her commission." The queen rejoined, " that she knew that was the style ambassadors

adopted ; but they were, nevertheless, obliged to write all that was said to them, and she should expect an answer. The queen of England told Bellièvre that she had advised her mother to speak to him, because the king had declared that he insisted upon no foreigner interfering with respect to the queen's return. The ambassador replied that he had no more power to interfere than a foreigner had ; but he, nevertheless, did not fail to write a full account of the conversation to Richelieu ; more, we suspect, in the character of a spy than an ambassador. This poor queen was to wander from country to country in search of an asylum, bread, and advocates ; and foreigners were prohibited from saying a word in her behalf, and ambassadors were not even to repeat her prayers for assistance, or her confessions of repentance. In the course of this narrative we have hitherto looked in vain for the actions that entitled Louis to the noble title of *just*, or the views which earned for Richelieu the character of a good man or a great minister.

CHAPTER XI.

Cruel conduct of Richelieu to Mary de Medici—Trial of the Duke de la Valette—The Duke d'Epernon—Great power of the cardinal—Death of Father Joseph—Differences with the pope—Brisach—Fresh annoyances to Anne of Austria—The king's platonic attachment for Mesdames de la Fayette and de Hauteville—Revolution of Portugal—Military successes—First campaign of the great Condé—Religious affairs—Birth of the king's second son, the founder of the present house of Orleans—Cinq-Mars—Enmity of the cardinal and Cinq-Mars—The Duke d'Enghein (the great Condé) marries a niece of the cardinal—Splendid nuptials—Further abasement of the parliament—Part of Lorraine restored to the duke—State of France under Richelieu—Conquest of Roussillon—The queen-mother, driven from England by the machinations of the cardinal, takes refuge at Cologne—Manifesto of the Count de Soissons—Conspiracy of the malcontent nobles—Death of the Count de Soissons.

THE cardinal was no more affected in favour of his benefactress by the letters he received from Bellièvre, than by all she had before done to appease him. The disposition that most women have to avenge an affront, with the peculiar character of the queen, which led him to believe that the more she was abased the more vindictive she would become, and that if she were in France, she would not fail to discover to the king much which he concealed from him—but, most of all, his own implacable haughtiness, which never permitted him to retract from anything upon which he had made up his mind—altogether led him to determine to reject every offer the unfortunate queen-mother could make him; as for the king, he had long given over deliberating upon anything the minister proposed.

The cardinal then dictated a letter to his secretary, Cheré, and the king signed it. The king appeared to write, that having read an extract from the despatches of

Bellièvre regarding propositions made to him by the queen-mother, he had said, without advice from any one in his council, that he believed he had no more reason to place faith in what she advanced than he had for a long time had. Her restless disposition made it impossible for her to live in peace in any place; she could not quietly enjoy her good fortune while she was in France, she could not agree with the duke of Orleans in Flanders, after she had induced him to leave his native country, or with the princess he had married. She did not go into Holland without a sinister design, and was already disgusted with England. If she had not been satisfied with the extraordinary authority she enjoyed in France previously to her leaving the kingdom, how could she be contented with that which could now be given to her, which must be so much less? Were she to return in the disposition which now actuated her, she would immediately excite all the malcontents of France to fresh cabals and disturbances, which she would do the more easily from most of them having formerly been connected with her. The Spaniards, who had despised her in their own country, would not fail to stimulate her to mischief as soon as she was in France, and that was the real reason for their wishing her to return. She had for seven or eight months past been endeavouring to form a new party in Sedan, with the Duke de Bouillon and the Count de Soissons, from which attempt, fortunately, she had derived nothing but words scarcely amounting to promises: the king of England, after having vainly interceded for her, was evidently anxious to get rid of her. All these considerations obliged him to remain firm, and to adhere to the proposal he had made to the queen-mother to retire to Florence, where she should receive all that was necessary for her support, according to her quality. In short, his conscience would be satisfied, and he should be justified when he had done

all in his power to content the queen, without exposing the nation to fresh troubles.

Independently of the want of that conventional courtesy with which royal personages address each other, even when at variance amounting to war, we must recollect that this precious document is actually addressed by a son to his mother. This is the last tie broken by the most depraved natures, and this pretended letter is the crowning proof of the fearful influence the evil genius of Richelieu had gained over the imbecile spirit of Louis.

When this heartless reply reached England, Queen Henrietta, touched by the affliction of her mother, wrote to both the king and the cardinal, with her own hand, and sent her letters by Lord Germain, desiring him to second their contents as warmly as he could. The king replied to these letters by others, composed by Chavigny, and corrected by the cardinal, in which he praised the good intentions of his sister, but begged her not to interfere in this affair. He had had, on his part, every wish to serve his mother, but she had created so many disturbances in the state, that he could not act otherwise than he did, until peace was made. As to the means of support she required, he could not grant it, as he had no doubt her evil councillors would abuse it ;—as if there was no medium between granting her all, and refusing his mother a part of the dowry which legitimately belonged to her. This was Louis the Just !

Thus, notwithstanding guarantees for her good conduct offered by the king and queen of England, and all the repeated and earnest entreaties of Lord Germain, the negotiation came to nothing, and the widow of Henry IV. was left a beggar. Nobody durst say a word to the king about the matter; the worthy prince had not brain enough to devise a middle course between the extreme harshness dictated by the will of the cardinal, and restoring to the

queen-mother her former dangerous power. He saw, without jealousy, in his minister, a power much greater than the queen had ever enjoyed; and the cardinal abused it more than she had done, though, perhaps, in another direction, without the king seeing the least offence. It had become the fixed belief of his mind, that without his minister he should be lost, and his kingdom entirely ruined; he believed that no other of all those around him entertained wise and honest intentions; and, therefore, he saw nothing in any light but that in which the cardinal wished him to see it.

To avoid the scandal of inhumanity, the cardinal would not give his opinion in council, but required the other ministers to present their sentiments in written documents, which he himself prepared and they signed. These relics of a churchman's cruelty, which are still preserved in the *Memoirs of Montresor*, all express two things. The first is, that the queen-mother could not return to France without embroiling it, and that there was no other means of preserving tranquillity but to leave her in destitution out of France, unless she would go to Tuscany; the second is, that as princes belong more to their states than to themselves, they belong more to them than to their father or their mother, and are only to offer the latter such marks of respect as accord with a more noble duty. According to these slaves of the cardinal, France was lost if the king took any care of his mother; the action, they said, resembled the separation of Christ from the Blessed Virgin! This opinion was sent to the king, and was signed Seguier, Bullion, Bouthillier, Chavigni, and Sublet, all such acknowledged creatures of the cardinal, that posterity cannot possibly err in its decree upon the infamous transaction.

But, stripping off all the state "lendings," and considering the king and queen-mother as a man and woman only, what a despicable, mean slave does the monarch

appear! With the purse of a great nation to put his hand into, he did not dare to assist a mother, a destitute woman—for she became not only figuratively but literally so,—for fear of offending the Mephistophiles to whom he had given up his soul. Mary of England is accused of hardness of heart, but even she sent relief to her banished father, however badly that relief was received.

Some time before this, the cardinal-duke carried out the trial of the Duke de la Valette, who had made his escape to England, and had been very kindly received there. We feel compelled to give this trial at some length, as it affords a most instructive lesson upon the government of France under Richelieu when in his greatest power; and we beg our readers constantly to keep in mind that it took place in the year 1639, and to turn their eyes occasionally towards the opposite side of the channel, and see what was going on there—we have no doubt they will receive gratification from the contrast.

According to established usage, this trial ought to have taken place in the parliament of Paris, which is the parliament of the peers; but, according to the usage established by the ministers, the king named commissioners from the parliament and the council of state, although the parliament sent a remonstrance, claiming the trial as belonging to their court. The Duke de la Valette was accused of cowardice and treachery, and of having left France without permission, which he had no right to do, being colonel-general of the French infantry, governor of Guienne, and a duke and peer of France. The king, contrary to all custom, insisted upon trying De la Valette in his own palace instead of the parliament, and sent for the judges to St. Germain. The king, upon their taking their places, shortly told them for what they were come, and commanded them to pronounce judgment thereupon. The first president begged the king to dispense with his judgment in that place, because he should be obliged to

pronounce one in parliament if the king should send the case to that court, which he proved to be according to the ordinances. The king interrupted him by saying that councillors of parliament created difficulties about everything, and wanted to hold him in tutelage; but he insisted upon their giving their opinions—he would be master. He added that they were in error if they supposed he had not the power to try peers of France in the manner he deemed best, and forbade them to say anything more about it. The Rapporteurs,* de la Poterie and Marchant, concluded, after long reasonings, upon bodily seizure, and the king told the others to proceed. Penon began by saying that during the fifty years he had been a councillor of parliament, nothing of so much importance had been brought before him; he considered the Duke de la Valette as a man who had had the honour to marry the natural sister of the king, and as a duke and peer; and, therefore, it was his opinion that this cause ought to be sent to the parliament. The king exclaimed, “that was not voting; he was not to be paid in that coin;” but Penon replied, that in the order of justice, a reference to another court was a legitimate suffrage. The king said he was exceedingly vexed, and insisted upon their agreeing upon there being cause for trial. Penon then replied that, since the king commanded him, he was of the opinion of the Rapporteurs. The Presidents de Nesmond and Seguier said the same thing, in consequence of the command of the king. The President de Bailleul, who, on entering the hall, had heard the Cardinal de Richelieu say that the king would once more extend his goodness to the Duke de la Valette, said that he was of opinion they should avail themselves of the kind opening made by the minister. But the latter turned sharply round, and said “Do not presume to cover yourself with my mantle; vote: the command of the king

Judges of inquiry and accusation, answering to our grand juries.

requires you to vote with the Rapporteurs." The President de Même voted with the others, without saying a word. The President de Nevion, after a long discourse, remarked that they were in possession of neither the name nor the age of the witnesses against the Duke de la Valette, and the trial being, as the king admitted, contrary to usage, he was of opinion the duke should be personally summoned; besides which, he could not, according to established custom, vote in that place. He added, that if the king forced him to vote, he should pronounce for the mildest sentence, in order not to burthen his conscience. The President de Bellièvre rising, said, he could vote for nothing but a reference to the parliament; and the king insisting upon his voting upon the foundation for the affair, he made a short speech, in very good terms, the substance of which was, that he thought it extremely strange that the king should vote in the trial of one of his subjects; kings had been accustomed to reserve to themselves the divine privilege of pardoning, and had left condemnations to the tribunals of justice. He did not believe his majesty would have the courage to see a man placed upon the sellette,* to be an hour afterwards dragged to execution. The presence of the king carried pardon and indulgence with it—it removed ecclesiastical interdicts even, and no one ought to leave the presence of the king discontented. He likewise spoke of the difficulty of speaking before the king, as he did not feel at liberty to express his opinion. The king, after listening to him very quietly, coolly ordered him to vote upon the accusation. Bellièvre replied that he could not alter his opinion; and the chancellor having again pressed him to vote, he replied that it was only losing time in endeavouring to make him vote as the chancellor thought fit; and he remained firm. The first president spoke again, recommending the reference, but at length voted for bodily seizure.

* A seat accorded to men upon their trial.

After the presidents, the councillors of state expressed their opinions; and it was remarked that Le Bret alleged the customs of the Turks, and Leon Brulert the most violent proceedings of the Germans, as excuses for the irregularities of these proceedings. After them, the dukes and peers spoke, and were followed by the cardinal and the king. They then rose, and the king, calling the presidents before him, told them, in a tone of passion, that they always disobeyed him—he was very much dissatisfied with their conduct, and he hated all who were unwilling that he should try the Duke de la Valette out of parliament. He said they were ignorant men, unworthy of their offices, and he did not know that he should not put others in their places. He was determined he would be obeyed; he would let them see that all their privileges were founded upon bad usages, and he would hear no more said about them.—Thus the blindest of kings, to whom the passions of his minister served for both jurisprudence and policy, violated all ordinances, as if there had been no justice in his kingdom before the cardinal-duke governed it, and that all ancient usages owed their origin to weak and foolish people. It would have been a dangerous task to endeavour to enlighten him upon his error, not only on account of the authority of the minister, but of his natural obstinacy, which was as great as his understanding was limited. He could never have been made to understand what was the origin of laws, or the advantages that princes have, as well as their subjects, in their being observed.

In consequence of the result of this meeting, the Duke de la Valette was condemned by a sentence of the council of state to be placed in the Bastille, to answer to the heads of the accusation; or to be summoned by sound of trumpet to appear within a certain period, his property to be, in the mean time, sequestered. The evidence was then taken of fifty witnesses—officers as well as soldiers—who could be collected as most likely to make the accused

appear guilty. Their depositions were read in full council, and the procureur-général was of opinion that the Duke de la Valette should be beheaded, and have his goods confiscated, for the crimes of cowardice and treason. The presidents, who found it useless to resist, with the noble exception of Bellièvre, approved of all the conclusions. That spirited magistrate said: "that it was a hundred years since Francis I. had made a regulation, by which he ordered that in civil matters the plaintiff could not obtain a sentence, under the pretence of contumacy, unless he had justified his plea; and it was still more just to act thus in criminal cases, in which the honour and the lives of the king's subjects were concerned. They who were accused of contumacy were not always guilty of the crime they were to answer for. The Duke de la Valette was accused of treason and disobedience to his general; with regard to treason, it was difficult to imagine that a French gentleman, who was under so many obligations to the king, should have entertained so base a thought. He had been unable to find any proof of it in the trial, and the procureur-général himself seemed to agree with him, for he had not sentenced him in the terms adopted against traitors, which were, that their houses should be demolished, their woods cut down, and their posterity declared degraded from nobility. If the duke had had communications with the enemy, he would never have been so weak as to expose himself to such insignificant persons as most of the witnesses were; that would have been courting destruction for himself and his designs. No witness had proved that he had sent them letters or received any from them; or had, indeed, held any kind of correspondence with the enemy or their confederates. He therefore pronounced him innocent on this charge. As for disobedience to his general, that was a point purely military, an acquaintance with which belonged only to men of the sword; if the duke was present, he, perhaps, would prove quite the

contrary. If they accepted the witnesses, all that they deposed was, that a breach was practicable, and if they had mounted to the assault at once, the place would have been carried. It was a dangerous precedent to submit the honour and lives of generals to the judgment of thirty soldiers. Notwithstanding there was no proof of the two principal charges of which the Duke de la Valette was accused sufficient to condemn him to death, he thought him so culpable in having left the kingdom, and in not having appeared to justify himself, that he deserved to be banished for nine years, to be deprived of his charges, and to pay a fine of one hundred thousand livres."

The chancellor thereupon said, that by whatever principle the Duke de la Valette had made the king lose the opportunity of taking Fontarabia, and had disobeyed his general, the action was of such great prejudice to the state, that he pronounced the conclusions of the procureur-général just. The king then threw his hat upon the table, and said, that not having been brought up in parliaments, he might not vote so well as those that had, but he would say, after his own manner, that there was no question of cowardice or want of skill in the Duke de la Valette, for he knew that he was deficient in neither bravery nor capacity, but that he had not been willing to take Fontarabia. After adding something about the bad designs he had betrayed on this occasion as well as on others, he agreed with the procureur-général. Without any other formality, the assembly then rose, and the Duke de la Valette was condemned by all except Bellièvre. The council of state pronounced the sentence that the Duke de la Valette was convicted of high treason, for having, in a cowardly and perfidious manner, abandoned the king's service at the siege of Fontarabia; and of felony, in having left the kingdom against the orders of his majesty; and that for these offences he should have his head cut off at the Grève if he could be taken, or if

he could not be taken, in effigy; to lose all his appointments, and to have his property confiscated.

It was, till that time, an unexampled thing for a king of France to condemn a gentleman as a judge, or to sit at the head of a table around which the judges were placed. It was likewise remarkable, in the choice of the judges, that no commission was issued: some of them were exceptionable,—several of them had never before performed the office of judge; none of the usual formalities were observed; the privileges of the dukes and peers were violated, and the sentence was pronounced by the council of state, which had taken no cognizance of the fact, and which never interfered with such matters. Thus the king, who did good very unwillingly, and suffered the cardinal to make him retract when he had promised a reward or a favour to any one, allowed himself to be persuaded to commit a crying injustice, and against all usages, for the destruction of a nobleman who had acted exceedingly well on many other occasions, and whose father had been a servant of the crown for sixty years. The brother of the duke, who was generally called *Le Valet du Cardinal*, instead of the Cardinal de la Valette, acted in this affair like the faithful slave of his stern master, and wrote to Richelieu: that seeing how his brother had conducted himself he deemed it his duty to be the first to speak against himself; “for,” he added, “it is certain that I should be the most ungrateful man in the world if I did not prefer serving you, not only to his interests, but even to my own.” These great obligations consisted of not ruining him with his brother, and giving him the command of an army, although he was as bad a general as he was incapable of properly governing his bishopric. The Duke d’Epernon was ordered to retire to his house at Plassac, and was deprived of his government and all his pensions. We are quite at a loss, on casting a retrospective glance over the trial and sentence, to discover

how the Duke d'Epéron could be punishable for the offences of his son. A father of eighty years of age could scarcely be responsible for the courage and obedience of a son who was a middle-aged man. The Duke d'Epéron was a remarkable character; originally a mere private gentleman by birth, he had, when scarcely out of his boyhood, acquired immense wealth and high rank by being one of the *minions* of the infamous Henry III.; and although we should think a man could take very little honour from such a source of distinction, he was, through the reigns of Henry IV. and Louis XIII., the most haughty, the most assuming, and most unbending nobleman in France. His wealth, his rank, his governments, and connections, gave him immense influence, and he was either mixed up in most of the cabals, or deemed the most desirable person that could be seduced into them. His position may be imagined when we say that two of his sons were dukes and peers, and the third a cardinal. A man who would scarcely bow before Henry IV. was not likely to be willingly submissive to a minister, particularly if that minister were a churchman, there being no acknowledged nobility in France but that of the sword. This very duke once ventured to sneer at the great and good Sully, at the council table, for being a financier; and Sully thought it worth while to answer that he thought he could wield a sword, if necessary, as well as he could a pen. There was a perpetual ill-feeling between the cardinal and the duke; and the latter being too high and too powerful for even Richelieu to attack openly and whilst in his vigour, he, characteristically, gratified his malignity by wounding the duke's feelings in his son's condemnation, and by disgracing his enemy when he was too old to resist him.

Among the innumerable causes of quarrel between these two equally haughty and grasping men, one is so remarkable, as a picture of the times, that we cannot

withhold it from our readers. "After the conquest of Portugal by Philip II. of Spain, the inhabitants of the former country were left in the enjoyment of their ancient privileges. The Portuguese stipulated that they should not be forced to unload their merchandise at any Spanish port, and that their vessels coming from the East should go straight to Lisbon. Two caracks left Goa, on the 4th of March, 1626, laden with rich merchandise; an extraordinary quantity of pearls, diamonds, ambergris, bezoards, and other precious things constituting the cargo. A tempest overtook them, at the beginning of 1627, near the coasts of Spain, and compelled them to put into Corogna. His Catholic majesty's officers vainly pressed the Portuguese to discharge their cargo there; jealous of their privileges, they would not listen to such a thing. The king of Spain yielded to their obstinacy, and kindly sent six of his best galleons to defend the two caracks, whose cargo was estimated at eight millions of livres. The caracks and galleons left Corogna with the first fair wind: but a second tempest arose, and beat them about so furiously during twenty-two days, that one of the caracks and two of the galleons were wrecked off Cape Briton, and the other carack with its three galleons off Breck, upon the estates of the Duke d'Epernon. The moment he heard of the accident, he hastened to his lordship, collected, strictly and searchingly, every article that was saved from the wreck, and appropriated all to himself. The Spaniards and Portuguese were even plundered of their clothes, and were sent to Bordeaux with scarcely sufficient rags to cover their nakedness.

"The Cardinal de Richelieu, not less greedy than D'Epernon, pretended that all shipwrecked effects belonged to the admiralty, of which he held all the rights, from his then newly-created post of superintendent of the commerce and navigation of France, Fortin, master of the requests, was sent to Bordeaux with a commission

to inquire into the affair, and to seize, on the part of his majesty, everything that had been saved from the wreck. D'Epernon produced his titles, proved that his ancestors had enjoyed for three hundred years the right of shipwrecks upon the coasts of Medoc, and that former kings had granted to the lords of Candale (the duke's eldest son was duke of Candale) all that could be said to belong to the sovereign in such cases. The commissioner pressed the duke to give up all he had received without litigation. D'Epernon laughed at him, and maintained his rights with so much haughtiness and contempt for the other's authority, that the worthy magistrate was disgusted, and demanded to be recalled. This contest increased the animosity already existing between the duke and the cardinal. Richelieu would not seem to yield, and sent Servien, another master of the requests, in the place of Fortin; but the then pending war between France and England making it prudent not to irritate D'Epernon, the new commissioner behaved more civilly to him. On his side, the duke yielded a little, and consented to give up two caskets of small, rough diamonds, a little ambergris, and some other articles of trifling value. Servien pretended to be satisfied with this deference of the duke's, and the affair was hushed up." The historian who gives this story exclaims as he ends it: "Was there ever a more disgraceful piracy than this! And it was a duke and peer of France,—it was a cardinal, who perpetrated it!" He wrote a hundred years ago; we, in a far more civilized period, hope such things could not now be done—but we only hope; man's thirst for wealth is not at all lessened by the increased means for the enjoyment of it.

We have now come to the apex of the cardinal's career: his power was the most complete that ever had been enjoyed by a man in his position; he had all the authority of the ancient mayors of the palace, and, in addition, was head of the Church in France. The only superiority he

deigned to acknowledge was that of the king, and that his monarch and all Europe, as well as France, knew to be only nominal; if he had succeeded in his ambitious wish of becoming Patriarch of France, which would have made him a kind of French pope, it might have added another to his already numerous titles, but it would have added no power. There was not a state in Europe that did not feel he was actual monarch of France. How he attained this giddy height our narrative has shown; how he maintained it will be the object of our remaining pages. But this is not only the apex, it is the point of declension. We cannot suppose Richelieu ever to have been a happy man; if we could, it would greatly lower our opinion of human nature; but, after this period he was a miserable man, not to be envied by the most ambitious. He was fifty-four years of age; his constitution was never a strong one, and it was prematurely weakened by daily exertion and thought, and by sleepless vigils. His system was full of humours, which, in addition to other diseases, caused him constant annoyance; he had nothing to hope for, but he had everything to fear; his jealousy, perhaps, exceeded that of any human being on record, for to the vast quantity natural to his character, was added that of his ever perilous position. It is the nature of cunning people to be mistrustful, and Richelieu's life may, from this time, be said to be one *suspicion*.

This declension was most appositely begun by a loss which he could never supply. A really great man might have attained power by the unassisted strength of his own genius; but Richelieu was only an artful man, and could not do without support. This he found in Father Joseph, who, although in some parts of his character very inferior to his patron, was, in others, quite as far above him. Joseph had the great quality of being firm and fearless in adversity, in which the cardinal, as well as another man equally distinguished in French history for his un-

scrupulous ambition, was miserably deficient : Richelieu and Bonaparte could win, but both were unduly depressed by losing.

When Father Caussin made his attempt to bring about the disgrace of Richelieu, he offered the post of minister to Father Joseph, as well as to the Duke d'Angoulême, and the father, as sensibly as the duke, but in a far more honourable manner, declined it. He was faithful to Richelieu, but he would not betray his other friend, and kept the matter a secret. State secrets are, however, not long secure ; others related the circumstance to the cardinal, who, it is said, never pardoned this reticence on the part of his confidant, but conceived a jealousy for him, which became fatal to the Capuchin. But it is difficult to ascertain what passed between two men so deeply interested in concealing their inmost thoughts. They who had opportunities of examining them closely, fancied they could perceive a mutual coldness. Richelieu was satirical, and exhibited a haughty, phlegmatic dryness of demeanour : Joseph was hasty, and easily offended. It was observed that these defects, in spite of which they had always lived on such a good understanding with each other, began to be reciprocally annoying, and produced contradictions and sharp reparties. Gestures and words which escaped Father Joseph gave Richelieu to understand that he did not approve of his inflexibility towards the queen-mother, or of his perseverance in refusing to negotiate for peace, though the oppressed people were clamorous for it, and the Spaniards offered to make it upon conditions advantageous to the French. Mademoiselle la Fayette was a relation of Joseph's, and although she had become a nun, the king still retained his friendship for her, and took opportunities of conversing with the Capuchin more frequently than ever. Richelieu offered him the bishopric of Mans, in order to get him away from the court, but Joseph declined it, and redoubled his importunities for

the cardinal's hat, which had been promised him more than two years. From all these circumstances the political heads of the day concluded that the Capuchin wanted to equal the cardinal in this dignity for the purpose of supplanting him, which, at least, the minister had a right to believe, and that the disease which shortly after conducted Joseph to the tomb was the effect of Richelieu's jealousy. But, as Anquetil sensibly remarks, this is one of the many black imputations that we ought not to believe without the strongest proofs. It is easy to prove, on the contrary, that these men remained united to the last, for Richelieu, during Joseph's illness, showed all the anxiety of a warm friend: he wished to have him under his own eye, had him transported to Ruel in a litter, and watched over him with the greatest solicitude. Father Joseph, on his side, gave the cardinal an unequivocal proof of his attachment, by forwarding to the king a written document, in which he justified every point of Richelieu's ministry, and represented him as the only man capable of governing the kingdom. Well might the cardinal, then, exclaim at his death: "*I have lost my right arm!*" Now, though Anquetil is a favourite authority with us, we cannot entirely agree with these conclusions; although we must admit, against ourselves, that the study of Richelieu's character necessary for this work has led us to give faith to almost anything that may be said to his discredit. We do not see anything in Richelieu's watchfulness and anxiety that militates against the assumption of foul play: a revengeful man is as observant of the death of his victim, as a tender friend is of the departing moments of one he loves; he might want him nearer for the purpose of making assurance doubly sure. Joseph, on his part, felt he was dying—his ambitious views were at an end, and, perhaps, only then carried out the hypocrisy under the cloak of which he had acted during his connection with the cardinal. Richelieu himself

evinced quite as much hypocrisy on his own death-bed. We have a positive right to believe all that is evil of such men.

The author of the *Life of Joseph* asserts that he has seen the manuscript, in folio, of the written document of which we have spoken, but that it had never been printed. The Capuchin establishes in this treatise the following maxims, as highly Christian and political:—

1st. That a prince ought to have a council to govern his states, and a prime minister at the head of his council.

2nd. That an ecclesiastic is more fit to fill the place of prime minister than any other person.

3rd. That the prince, after having chosen him, ought to love him sincerely, to give him sovereign authority over his people, to load him with riches and honours, to yield no faith to anything that can be said against him, but to inform him of it, even though he should have promised secrecy, and to prefer him even to his nearest relations.

Can we suppose it possible that the weakness and credulity of a monarch could be so abused? Father Joseph must have been laughing at the imbecility of Louis; but, if he did, Richelieu did the same, for his celebrated political testament, which he is said to have bequeathed to the king, was nothing but an enlargement upon the Capuchin's text.

Father Joseph has had so great a part in the cardinal's intrigues, that we cannot leave him till the last. After a number of the political turnings and windings which seem to constitute the science of diplomacy, both Olivarez and Richelieu showed symptoms of being heartily tired of the war; its expenses were immense for both countries, and it brought little permanent advantage to either. By the intervention of friends, the ministers reciprocally wrote to each other, and it was agreed to send secret negotiators to the frontiers of the two kingdoms. Don Michael de Salamanca being about to go to Brussels as

secretary of state, Olivarez thought he might as well travel through France incognito, see Richelieu, and confer with him and some other French minister. Salamanca came to Paris, first saw Chavigny, then secretary of state, and was conducted to Ruel, where he was introduced to the cardinal, and had a long conversation with him. The court being at Compiègne, Don Michael followed it thither, and had several conferences with Father Joseph, who had, or appeared to have, the peace very much at heart, in order to soften the pope, who persisted in refusing to admit the nomination of that Capuchin father to the cardinalship, which Richelieu publicly solicited and secretly opposed. But an attack of apoplexy, in the month of March, awakened Joseph to the vanity of the lofty hopes he had conceived. He had aimed at nothing less than joining to the cardinal's hat the mitre of archbishop of Rheims, and the rank of premier duke, and peer of France. Could these two suns have shone at once?

This attack weakened him so much that he only thought of dying. Towards the end of autumn, Richelieu invited him to Ruel, where he could have more comforts, than in his convent. As a proof that his heart was not quite dissevered from the world and the court, he readily accepted the invitation; but, on the 15th of December, he had a fresh attack of apoplexy, which was quickly followed by the paralysis of half his body. It was feared that the pope, made aware of this event, would proceed to the promotion of cardinals so anxiously wished for, and would comprise Father Joseph in it, he being reduced to such a state that his life was despaired of, and there could be no chance of his recovering sufficiently to attend to public affairs; an artifice by which Urban would have rendered the king's nomination useless, and would have secured for his own use a place in the Electoral College, which was certain to become so soon vacant. Louis XIII.

immediately revoked the nomination of Father Joseph, and despatched a courier to the French ambassador at Rome, ordering him instantly to signify his recantation to his holiness. The precaution was wisely taken, but proved unnecessary, for the Capuchin was carried off three days after his relapse. "Father Joseph is dead," writes Grotius to the chancellor of Sweden; "he was nothing less than a Capuchin. The nobles, the people, and the monks of his own order all hated him equally; which is apparent, from the libels published against his memory. The passion for obtaining a cardinal's hat led him to injure the Protestants as much as he possibly could; and yet, with all that, we may say they will be losers by his death; the people likely to fill his place will act worse than he did. Richelieu is the only person that regrets Father Joseph. He has lost the great artisan of his finesses. The Capuchin hoped, a little before his death, to become archbishop of Rheims. The duke of Bavaria ought to be more concerned than anybody else: the English will rejoice, because they suspect him of having fomented the disturbances in Scotland: he employed another Capuchin, his confident, in that business." We may observe here that Richelieu often boasted of having promoted the troubles of Charles I.'s reign. Those who give no credit—and they are the majority certainly—to Richelieu's having accelerated the death of his confident, admit that he was very glad to find himself delivered from a man who had become his rival, and whose ambition and temper gave him umbrage and created suspicion. He, however, was a sufficient master of the art they had both practised to weep copiously over his tomb. Louis XIII. believed his minister's sorrow sincere: "I have lost one of my best subjects," said he, "and M. le Cardinal his confident and intimate friend." The nuns of Calvary, whose founder he was, fancied they had lost another Moses. They earnestly begged to have his heart: it was granted

them, and Cospeau, bishop of Lisieux, preached a funeral sermon in their church, with the heart of the deceased monk in his hand. They for a long time preserved his mantle with as much veneration as the prophet Elisha preserved that of his master, Eli. Very strangely, the king entertained so high an opinion of Joseph, that he considered him a saint, divinely inspired. Richelieu took great pains to keep this prejudice alive, and persuaded the monarch to press a man so wonderfully endowed to furnish him with written maxims for the well-governing of his kingdom. The Capuchin, it is said, played his part well in this comedy; he composed the little political treatise of which we have spoken, and placed it modestly in the hands of his majesty. "The artifice was so gross," says the author who relates the anecdote, "that we can scarcely believe even Louis XIII. could be deceived by it." For our part, we are not surprised at his credulity; there was nothing new in the lessons—they were but a repetition of what the cardinal had taught him. Father Jacinthe, the companion and confidant of Joseph, flattered himself with the hopes of succeeding him; but Richelieu had begun to fear his deceased friend, and would not venture upon another of the fraternity, particularly as he promised to be even more intriguing than the last: he told him coolly he had better remain in his convent.

Joseph was mild and insinuating in his manners, and though he espoused the cardinal's interests warmly, he always spoke of him with moderation; but when they deliberated together upon the affairs of government, he always proposed the firmest and most rigorous measures. Chavigny, in his letters to the Cardinal de la Valette, sometimes calls him *Patelin*, and sometimes *Nero*; designating by the one the apparent mildness of his demeanour, and by the other the inflexible rigour of his character. He was attached to nobody but the Cardinal de Richelieu, for though he professed to be the particular friend of Cardinal

de la Valette, he was on the point of abandoning him when that prelate, after the siege of Landrecy, remained inactive, and offended Richelieu. Chavigny took care to warn De la Valette of this: "Be careful, Monseigneur," says he, "of what you write to Patelin, and of what you say to his relation, who is with you. But be sure not to make a too apparent change in your manner of writing; only be a little more reserved. I have sufficient reasons for telling you this. Still, however, write to the said Patelin in your usual friendly manner."

"Nero," says he, in another of his letters, "assures me every day that he is your servant; I have my doubts, though, whether he be so truly so as I am."

They who have spoken of Father Joseph as of a man of inferior mind, who only treated with spies, whilst Richelieu negotiated with ministers and sovereigns, are egregiously mistaken. It is certain that this monk was admitted into secrets of the most important kind, and treated directly not only with spies, but with princes, ministers, ambassadors, and generals of armies. "He sketched affairs," says Grotius, "and the cardinal put the finishing hand to them." "He was employed in the highest negotiations," says the Marquis de Montglat, "principally in Germany, where he fomented the league of the princes against the emperor, and Wallenstein's conspiracy, which would have destroyed the house of Austria if it had not been discovered. He also treated for the interference of the king of Sweden. In fact, he was a man of great capacity, *who set fire to all Europe*, and who, Capuchin as he was, did his utmost to render the Lutherans masters of Germany."

Others have too much exalted the merits of Joseph, by placing him above the cardinal, who, according to their account, only followed the projects which his confident suggested. When the cardinal lost him, he made it apparent that if the counsels of Joseph had been useful to him, they had not been absolutely necessary, and that after

having availed himself of them during his life, he was able to do without them after his death. This is the reasoning of Father Griffet, the historian of Louis XIII., but, we think, it is hardly conclusive. There were only four years between the death of Joseph and that of Richelieu; thus the end of his ministry was not long, and he might not have exhausted the lessons left him by his assistant; at all events, he might merely keep along the track the other had opened for him. We are the more inclined to adopt this opinion, when we recollect that all Griffet says of the cardinal is not history—it is fulsome eulogy.

M. Anquetil, really the most unprejudiced, cool, and simple writer upon this subject, says: "Father Joseph was an indefatigable man, entering upon undertakings with all the activity, suppleness, and obstinacy proper to secure their success. He had familiarised himself with obstacles and fatigues in the missions and reforms of religious houses, labours to which his youth was devoted. He acquired also in these occupations the habit of reckoning as nothing the wills, tastes, and inclinations of men, and of forcing them when he found himself unable to persuade them." An officer whom he had just dismissed upon an important message into Germany, thinking his instructions not quite complete, returned in haste, and found the father on his knees, saying mass. Knowing the importance of time, he did not hesitate to approach him, and whisper in his ear: "*But, holy father, if these people should defend themselves?*" "*Kill them all!*" replied the monk, without rising from his knees; and went on with his prayers. This fact is preserved in the memoirs of the Abbé Arnauld. Father Joseph penetrated into the cabinets of princes, presenting himself boldly, speaking upon all subjects, and proposing expedients for everything. His sober, abstemious life, his punctual performance of the painful duties of his situation, his firmness in rejecting, except in cases of urgent necessity, the comforts and luxu-

ries of the world, preserved him the respect of the great: he treated them without the least consideration when they did not yield to his opinions, and he spoke to them with the audacity of a man who defies circumstances, and who has nothing to lose. Bold, absolute, insensible on his own account to the harshness of command, he never gave way to others. He appeared to have no tender affection but for his congregation of the *nuns of Calvary*, a society he had instituted; but even his enemies never reproached him with a particular attachment for any one of these. Courtiers thought it extremely strange that he should distribute favours without receiving any for himself or his family. Devotees could not conceive how he could send forth missionaries to preach the gospel, and armies to inundate Europe with blood; how he could compose monastic institutions, and employ himself in treaties of alliance with heretics;—but persons well acquainted with the world know there are many and widely various objects which can be entertained by some minds: the difficulty is, to discover which is the real principle at the bottom of the heart. We can only understand by the above sentence, quoted from a good authority, that all means are good in the eyes of the ambitious man, whose object is to succeed by imposing. His contempt for inferior honours and dignities was the effect of his connection with Richelieu; he was, in actual power, third man in the state: there is no doubt that if had obtained the cardinal's hat, the Archbishopric of Rheims, and the first duchy and peerage of the kingdom, like Becket, Wolsey, and his master, he would have thrown off his mantle of humility to cover the ambitious views of Father Jacinthe or any other hypocritical aspirant.

Richelieu knew all this, and he beheld him more affected, at the moment of his death, by the success of their joint political operations than by the religious exhortations made to the dying. He came to see him when at the



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last gasp, and all the consolation he gave him was to shout as he entered the sick-room : “ *Courage ! Father Joseph, Courage ! Brisach is ours !*” Believing by this joyous intelligenceto impart more comfort to the Capuchin than by all the *Jesus Marias* that were being poured into his ears.*

He was interred with great pomp, and followed to the grave by the cardinal and a host of bishops and officials, on the 18th December, 1638.

Among other epitaphs, the following was made upon him, which, we think, would not be much admired by Richelieu :—

Ci-git, au chœur de cette Eglise,
Sa petite *Eminence grise* ;
Et quand au Seigneur il plaira,
L'Eminence rouge y gira.

[Here lies, in the choir of this church, *his little Grey Eminence* ; and, when God pleases, here shall lie *his Red Eminence*.]

Father Joseph being buried close to Father *Ange de Joyeuse*, another epitaph was made upon him, which we by no means give on account of its point or excellence, but to show what his contemporaries thought of him :—

Passant, n'est ce pas chose étrange,
Qu'un démon soit auprès d'un ange ?

[Passenger, is it not a strange thing that a demon should be close to an angel ?]

The severity of Richelieu, who was so implacable when offended, was sometimes attributed to Joseph ; but he was not found to be more indulgent or merciful after the death of his confident ; it would even appear that, finding himself deprived of his support, he was led to the punishment of the very appearance of faults, in order to prevent plots by terror. Besides, as Richelieu knew that people of the character and temperament of the Capuchin are generally headstrong and self-willed in their opinions as well as their feelings, he left the father free to reform his own

* Vie du Père Joseph.

plans, and to conduct the affairs with which he intrusted him according to his own ideas. We can conclude nothing else from all this but that Joseph was a very ambitious Capuchin, and that as we know Richelieu was at least as much so, therefore they must sometimes have clashed, notwithstanding an appearance of union ; for real friendship or real union could not subsist between two men whose grand principle of action it was to deceive and suspect everybody. If we are to believe the best writers of the period, notwithstanding what the eulogist Griffet says, the jealousy Richelieu and Joseph entertained for each other was extreme.

France had a quarrel at this time, upon various pretences, with the pope ; the complaints were mutual, and were made with much acrimony. Scoti, the nuncio at Paris, being refused an audience of the king, had a conference with the minister Chavigny, to whom he told home truths with intelligence and spirit. After several speeches, relative to the peace, to which, Scoti maintained, France was averse, he told Chavigny that the threats the Cardinal de Richelieu made of not acknowledging the pope in France as anything more than the head of the Church, and that only spiritually, unless his holiness immediately granted the promotion of his *protégé*, Mazarin, to the cardinalship, together with the vexation he felt at not obtaining his bulls of abbé-général of Citteaux, were the true causes of the misunderstanding between the pope and the king. The Cardinal de Richelieu had, he said, begun by violence, arresting the pope's couriers, and preventing him [Scoti] from performing the functions of ordinary and extraordinary nuncio ; he had assembled a few bishops at his own house to speak about a national council, under the pretext of the annats and other pretended griefs. The Cardinal de Richelieu might be assured that the means he adopted would not obtain the cardinalship for Mazarin ; and as to

the national council, the French bishops entertained too much zeal for the Holy See to undertake a thing of that nature, and would not fail to give public proofs that they would not. To these and other complaints Chavigny had no other answer but denial without proof; and, finding himself at a loss, took refuge in a high-flown eulogy of the cardinal his master: after this they separated.

In the course of the conference, Chavigny had offered the nuncio a written paper, which forbade him to have an audience of the king until he had given him satisfaction; but Scoti persisted in refusing to receive it. It was sent to him, immediately on his return to his residence, by Berlise, accompanied by an usher of the council, to deliver it. - The nuncio refused it a second time, and would not even listen to the reading of it, retiring, immediately the officer commenced it, into another chamber. Berlise left it upon the table, and charged the nuncio's servant to give it to him; but as soon as he was gone out, one of the attendants ran after him and threw the paper into the carriage. The king, however, forbade the French bishops to have any communication with Scoti, and a guard was placed at night round his hotel to prevent any one from leaving it. All these squabbles terminated by the cardinal's obtaining more promptly the bulls of the generalship of Citteaux: after that, as the pope's requisitions only affected the interests of France and not those of the minister, they were almost all readily granted.

We have said in a former passage, that "the duke of Saxe-Weimar died, and France purchased his territories and took his army into pay," but we find it necessary here to refer to the circumstances somewhat in detail. The duke of Saxe-Weimar made war against the imperialists much more on his own account than for France, although she drew this advantage from his conquests, that the troops the emperor employed against him could

not act against her. He had passed the winter with his troops in the mountain of Vanze, and in Franche-Comté, where he had subdued a great number of small places that were incapable of resistance, and where his army, fatigued and diminished a full half by the preceding campaign, was re-established and considerably enlarged. Although his troops received but little pay, the kindness with which he treated them, and the frequent excursions which he made, gained him so completely the love of his soldiers that he easily raised all the recruits he wanted. His principal object then was to keep Brisach in his own possession, and to form a principality for himself around that city; for he began to be weary of being a simple French general, and depending on the caprices of a haughty, changeable minister, from whom he could expect nothing but an eternal slavery as the reward of his services. After the capture of Brisach, the cardinal sent him word that he wished him to come to Paris to arrange measures for the next campaign—but, in reality, to persuade him to give that important place up to France. As he made a difficulty of going to Paris, the cardinal refused to pay him the arrears that were due of the amount promised him, although he demanded them with great earnestness. He, however, remained firm in his resolution of not going to France; and contented himself with sending thither Colonel d'Erlach, governor of Brisach, who was only instructed to talk about the plans for the campaign, and to say that the preparations the emperor was making to recapture Brisach had prevented the duke from coming to Paris. The Count de Guébriant having orders to sound the duke upon the subject of Brisach, he replied, bluntly, "*that to ask a chaste girl for her virginity, and a brave man for his honour, was the same thing.*" The cardinal, however, contrived to extract a promise from D'Eslach, that if the duke died he would place Brisach in the hands of the

French ; and ordered him to tell that prince if he would yield the place to the French, they would assist him in making himself master of Franche-Comté, which place should be secured to him at the peace. But he was too wise to fall into such a snare as that, and preferred having Brisach with a part of Alsace, to the uncertain prospect of obtaining Franche-Comté ; because he was not only nearer his German connections, but could more easily preserve that principality against France herself, if it should answer his purpose to quarrel with her. On the other side the cardinal began to see through the designs of the duke, and to fear them, and was in doubt whether it would be better to assist him, or to allow him to be beaten by the imperialists. A report prevailed that he was secretly treating for a marriage with the landgravine of Hesse, which would place him at the head of 20,000 additional troops, and thus render him formidable to all Germany.

Whilst the cardinal and he were brooding over their opposite designs, the duke left Burgundy for the purpose of crossing the Rhine at Newbourg, and getting from thence into the Black Forest. On his arrival at Newbourg he fell sick on the 4th of July, and died on the 18th, at the age of thirty-six. The cardinal was strongly suspected of having had him poisoned, in order to make himself master of his conquests ; and many particulars were adduced to prove that he was poisoned : history does not positively assert that the cardinal committed this crime, but we may observe that France soon after seized upon his conquests, and we can neither forget the stipulation, as if prophetically made with Colonel d'Erlach, nor the unscrupulous policy of Richelieu : he never hesitated at shedding blood—why should he be deemed incapable of tempering the poisoned cup ?

Our notice is here called to one of those numerous court intrigues in which the cardinal took so conspicuous a part:

they seemed to be the element in which he delighted, and, as soon as one was suppressed, he anxiously looked about to either discover or get up another. He had reasons, certainly, for so doing, for they generally turned out to his advantage ; they became the means of advancing himself and his friends, or, which he preferred, of ruining his enemies.

Among the queen's attendants, the Marquise de Senecy occupied the first rank ; she had been first lady of honour for thirteen years, and had always served the queen with the greatest fidelity, without seeking the favour of the cardinal by betraying her mistress, as most of the courtiers did. The cardinal, fearing that this lady, who was very intelligent and shrewd, might some day inspire the queen to rebel against his authority, determined to get rid of her, and, without trouble, obtained a letter from the king, in which his majesty told her that for important reasons he desired her to dismiss Madame de Senecy from her service. Chavigny presented this letter to the queen as she was about to sit down to table, after having been to Nôtre Dame to discharge a vow she had made concerning the birth of the dauphin. The queen was extremely surprised at the order ; she had always had reason to be satisfied with the services of this lady, and expressed great regret at being deprived of them. She, however, had self-command enough to reply to Chavigny, an acknowledged creature of the cardinal's, that she was born to obey the commands of his majesty, and his orders should be executed. She very well knew from what quarter this arrow came, and, in the faint hope that by addressing her enemy himself she might bend him, she wrote to entreat him to exercise his good offices in this affair, and prevent her losing the services of a faithful attendant. But the minister was not the man to be overreached by civilities ; he was too familiar with them himself not to see through them in others, and he replied that

he was much honoured by the confidence her majesty placed in him, but he could not offer her better advice than to obey the king's wishes. The queen was extremely offended by this answer, and could not refrain from saying, it was not the king she was constrained to obey, but the cardinal. Without paying the least attention to her remonstrances, and without even giving her any notice, a Madame de Brassac, who was particularly disagreeable to the queen, as being completely in the interests of the cardinal, was placed in the situation lately occupied by Madame de Senecy. The same reasons which had brought about this dismissal, immediately afterwards procured that of the Baron de St. Ange, the queen's *maître d'hôtel*. The cardinal seemed to dread that the queen, having become a mother, would insensibly gain an influence over the mind of the king, and, perhaps, as he could not but be aware she had no reason to love him, might lessen or destroy his power over his majesty. To prevent this, he was constantly insinuating that the queen was much too warmly attached to the house of Austria, and throwing opportunities in the king's way for mortifying his wife. As an instance of the skill of Richelieu in the management of such paltry affairs, he engaged Louis in a long hunting excursion, that the violence of the queen's anger might have time to abate before she met the king.

A short time before this, the king's attachment for Mademoiselle de Hautefort broke out afresh, and the cardinal had taken no pains to thwart this connection, because the lady was of a mild disposition, and apparently incapable of intrigue. The king had been attached to her several years, but had ceased to give her any marks of his partiality. The whole court was astonished at these friendships of the king's, to which no one knew what name to assign; for, although there appeared much passion in his attention to both Mesdemoiselles de la Fayette and De Hautefort, he was known to be the coldest of men.

Instead of seeking to converse with them in private he only spoke to them in the presence of others, and that in the queen's apartment. The queen, consequently, conceived no jealousy for these ladies, but was pleased that they could attract the king into her society, and placed perfect confidence in them. The king only seemed to take delight in their conversation as a relaxation from state affairs. The cardinal, at first, viewed these attachments with indifference, but Mademoiselle de la Fayette was a relation of his ambitious colleague Joseph, and as soon as he suspected the designs of the Capuchin, he artfully contrived that she should be induced to retire to a convent. The king's friendship for Mademoiselle de Hautefort had appeared equally harmless with the preceding one, but the cardinal now perceived that she had formed a very close intimacy with Mademoiselle de Chemeraut, and he knew that lady to be of a penetrating, active mind, and that she was very likely to dictate to her friend matter for the royal ear which he would much rather keep away from it.

In order to divert the king from these dreaded friendships, the cardinal found excuses for taking him to the frontiers of Artois and Champagne, and afterwards into Dauphiny, in the hope that absence might destroy them. The Duke de St. Simon, who had been for some time the king's favourite, was likewise dismissed for some politic reason, and the cardinal exerted himself to introduce in his place Henry d'Effiat, Seigneur de Cinq-Mars, son of the Marshal d'Effiat, a young, intelligent man, of extremely agreeable person. He was master of the wardrobe, and after he became favourite, the Duke de Bellegarde made over to him the post of grand écuyer. The king at first had a great dislike to him, from his acquitting himself very carelessly of his duties as master of the wardrobe, and from his entertaining inclinations quite opposite to those of his majesty. The cardinal, however, so worked upon the mind of the king, that his aversion for Cinq-

Mars was soon changed into so extravagant an attachment, that he was never happy when he was out of his sight. It was during the siege of Hédin that the king began to evince a partiality for him, by assigning him a pension of fifteen hundred crowns, and from that time he seemed incabable of finding pleasure or amusement out of his company. Mademoiselle de Hautefort was quite forgotten; he had sought nothing in his connection with her that he could not find in that of his favourite, who could, as the lady could not, partake of his field-sports and other outdoor amusements. At night, when all his attendants were gone to rest, he would insist upon Cinq-Mars coming to sit by his bedside, and conversing with him for two or three hours together. By this means the cardinal was in possession of every thought of the king's, and whilst he was satisfied that nothing was passing in the mind of his master to his disadvantage, he governed the state with tolerable tranquillity.

Whilst insinuating Cinq-Mars into the good graces of the king, he had not neglected to lesson the young favourite in the means to be employed to gain and keep that which was the object of both—for nobody better knew the way to Louis' cold heart than he did. For fear, however, that the sight of Mademoiselle de Hautefort should diminish his nascent favour, the cardinal sought every means for keeping him away from Paris, and succeeded in doing so for more than a year. At length, the king's physicians began to disapprove of these long journeys; and Louis being exceedingly anxious to return to his beloved hunting-lodges in the neighbourhood of the capital, the cardinal could find no plausible excuse for protracting his absence. He took the road to Paris, where the courtiers were in an anxious state of expectation to see who would be the reigning favourite. The queen, according to the orders sent her, met him at Fontainebleau, and when he arrived he saluted her as coldly as if he had only

been for a ride of a few hours. As for Mademoiselle de Hautefort, who had anticipated being greeted with an effusion of affection, he scarcely looked at her, and gave public evidence that he would not resume any intercourse with her. He even said that he knew she did not like Cinq-Mars, which feeling she had better kept to herself, for he had infinitely more love for that favourite than he had ever had for her, or anybody in the world ; and he should be at no loss to punish all who ventured to cabal against him. And this man was forty years old ! It would be an instructive and amusing physiological inquiry to ascertain the occult causes of the passionate favouritism that so many monarchs have exhibited ; it is strongly in favour of adventitious advantages that, in almost all cases, though sex was out of the question, personal beauty has been the first incentive of the attachment.

Mademoiselle de Hautefort's reception was a sufficient proof of how little consideration the king had for her ; but for fear it should return, the cardinal ordered both her and Mademoiselle de Chemeraut to retire from court. They both went to Paris, where they resided for some time in a convent, but as they received a great many visits there, the latter lady was commanded to go to Poitou, and the former not to come within forty leagues of Paris. The queen was extremely annoyed by this banishment of two ladies in whom she placed great confidence, and whose only offence was their refusal to be dependent on the cardinal. Thus every one in whom she could trust was driven from the service of the queen, for fear she should employ them in subverting the greatness of the minister ; and the new favourite was instructed to infuse into the mind of the king a thousand things disadvantageous to that princess. The subsequent fate of Cinq-Mars, as one of the cardinal's victims, has created something like a good feeling towards him ; we do not like to see a fine young man, in the very prime of life, cut off by the malignity of

an enemy ; but, if we watch the conduct of Cinq-Mars, we shall find very little to admire beyond that which is nothing to us—his personal graces: he was a weak, volatile, inconsequent character, and his taking so base a part with respect to an oppressed, isolated, beautiful woman, disgraces him as a man and a gentleman.

Two great events, in which the political influence of Richelieu is disputed, illustrated the year 1640, and were of immense advantage to France. The Spanish nation was fearfully oppressed by the despotism of Olivarez, and the Catalonians arose as one man, and surrendered their country to France. The Portuguese at the same time found employment for the court of Spain, by shaking off their yoke, and placing the duke of Braganza on the throne, under the title of Don John IV. They had become so weary of the Spanish domination, that no one could be found to espouse the cause of his Catholic majesty, and within eight days every Castillian had left Portugal, without any effusion of blood. The interference of Richelieu in this revolution is disputed, but we think the evidence is in favour of him. It is said, that seeing the Portuguese much dissatisfied with the Spanish rule, he sent a person named St. Pé to get access to the chancellor, the great Captain George d'Azevedo and others, and to offer them the protection and assistance of France, if they were willing to try to drive out the Spaniards. We can scarcely suspect that such a revolution, so well conducted and so speedily terminated, could have been got up without mature deliberation and well-concerted preparation. It must have been almost impossible to conceal such an affair from Richelieu ; and the policy of assisting the Portuguese was too obvious for him to neglect the opportunity of annoying the life-long enemy of himself and his master. We know that good historians deny him the honour of having assisted in bringing about a great and desirable revolution ; but, little as we admire him, we think the

voices are on his side : in fact, we do not see so much to contend for ; to assist the Portuguese was the policy of France, to deny aid would have been fatuity—no one pretends that love of liberty or approval of a good cause stimulated him. Seriously injured by these enormous losses, Spain sustained the war very feebly.

Guébriant, who had succeeded the Duke de Longueville at the head of the army in Germany, held his ground well in that country ; but the two principal centres of military operations were then Artois and Piedmont. A numerous army was collected in Picardy, under the three marshals De la Meilleraye, Châtillon, and Chaulnes ; it entered Artois and invested Arras, of which place Louis and the cardinal pressed the siege in person. It was at this siege, Fabert, a soldier of fortune, who afterwards became a marshal, distinguished himself. Richelieu asked him if he knew any one who would dare, for a hundred thousand crowns, to penetrate into the besieged place, and reconnoitre it : “ I will go, for honour ! ” replied Fabert ; and he kept his word. This was a piece of the cardinal’s tact and observant knowledge of the men he had to deal with. He knew what would be Fabert’s answer, before he asked him the question : and yet it is difficult to imagine how there could be any sympathy between natures so opposite. It was in vain the cardinal-infant endeavoured to force the French lines, and compel them to raise the siege : Arras capitulated. The Duke d’Enghien, afterwards the great Condé, fleshed his maiden sword in this campaign under Marshal Meilleraye.

The campaign of Piedmont was still more glorious for the French arms : the Count d’Harcourt, with ten thousand men against twenty thousand, forced the Marquis de Leganez to raise the siege of Casal. He then threw himself, by a bold and rapid march, upon Turin, defended by Prince Thomas of Savoy, and invested that place. It was Leganez’s object to disengage it. The

French besieging army found itself, in its turn, besieged in its lines by an army very superior in numbers, and closely pressed by it and the garrison. D'Harcourt, by the rapidity of his movements, deceived both the enemy's generals : he beat them, one after the other, and compelled Prince Thomas to capitulate. He was worthily seconded by the younger brother of the Duke de Bouillon, the Viscount de Turenne, who was destined to become one of the greatest captains of Europe.

Thus, for the first time since the opening of this sanguinary war, the French had the superiority upon all their frontiers. Richelieu took advantage of it to inflict the last blow upon some of his enemies. He began by proving to the duchess of Savoy and Count Philip d'Aglié, that he had not forgotten the resistance they had opposed to him at Grenoble, when he wished the duchess to place Montmelian in the hands of the French. He sent a secret command to Mazarin, who was at Turin, to have Count Philip d'Aglié arrested quietly, with orders not to communicate the affair to the Count d'Harcourt till the moment of execution. Mazarin, the more easily to perform his commission, persuaded the principal persons of the court of Turin, and the French who were there, to give parties of pleasure every evening. Count Philip d'Aglié was one of these, and when it came to the turn of the Count de Plessy Praslin, whose lodging was not far from the citadel, a number of soldiers were ordered to be in readiness for anything that might happen. Count Philip, who suspected nothing, got into his carriage to go to Du Plessy's, but the soldiers compelled the coachman to drive to the citadel, where he was imprisoned till he was sent to Pignerol ; and all this without the permission or orders of the duchess, who in vain complained of the infraction upon her son's sovereignty.

Towards the end of 1640, the cardinal, tired of the constant squabbles kept up at Rome by the Marshal d'Estreés,

whose violent and hasty temper but ill accorded with the slow and phlegmatic manner in which affairs were conducted at that court, made up all disputes in haste, for the purpose of recalling the marshal. It is positively affirmed, that Richelieu at this time seriously contemplated the extirpation of the Calvinist religion in France, and had several consultations with Seguier on the subject. He proposed to have a conference with the Calvinist ministers, in which he hoped to bring them to act as he wished. For fear this conference should share the fate of the Colloquy of Puissy, he purposed, in the first place, to make certain of eighty members, who, joined to those he might perhaps win by his reasonings, would, he believed, bring over the greater part of the Huguenots. As for the rest, he should employ the king's authority, and reduce them by ill-treatment, or banish them the kingdom if they refused to comply. He thought that very few families would not prefer embracing the Catholic religion to being banished from the kingdom, and having entrance to their native land barred against them for ever. They would scarcely resolve to become wanderers upon the face of the earth in search of an asylum. They would find insurmountable difficulties in the sale of their property, from the want of buyers, or because they must sell it too cheap. He further judged, that if there were reason to doubt the sincerity of the converts, their children, having sucked the Catholic religion with their milk, would be, truly and steadily, Catholics. To carry this desirable object, he deemed it necessary to have it, in the first place, pronounced by the assembly that it was possible to be saved in both creeds; because when the Huguenots were persuaded of that, they would prefer becoming Catholics, to avoid the evils they would have to suffer by adhering to Calvinism, or to remain exposed to them by rejecting a religion by which they otherwise believed they should

be saved. And thus reasoned this great minister, who imagined that other people had as little religion as he had. With him, religion and morality were both subservient to a short-sighted mundane policy ; he met with very weak subjects upon whom to try his arts, and he had such success, that he became at length convinced that nobody had common sense but himself, and that all the world was as imbecile and stupid as Louis XIII. It is the support of the weak and the wicked to think everybody resembles themselves. When the great days of Louis XIV. were gone, when his councils were guided by Jesuits and fanatical women in place of a Colbert, he tried this scheme of the cardinal's, almost to the letter, and by it cut off the most efficient member of his kingdom. Colbert would have told him that one industrious Huguenot mechanic was of more use to him than three idle Catholic nobles ; Madame de Maintenon and her Jesuitical allies taught him that his soul was not safe as the monarch of heretics.

He had another ambitious vision, which haunted him for many years of his life, and which he had not abandoned at the hour of his death : he wished to constitute himself patriarch of France. He believed he had already secured most of the bishops ; and to gain over the monks to his party, he endeavoured to be made abbé-général of the three most powerful orders ; by which he should obtain their suffrages. But the court of Rome being aware of his ambitious designs, notwithstanding all his threats, intrigues, and insults, would never grant him the necessary bulls. This ambitious fancy, though still cherished, was therefore obliged to be indulged in very secretly, and the steps taken to obtain it were so slow, that death overtook him before he was even in sight of the goal. A man in the enjoyment of the peculiar reputation of esteem and love of a l'Hôpital or a Fénelon, would, France, have found insuperable obstacles to such an attainment ; with

Richelieu, universally hated as he was, it was an impossibility ; his slave the king, even, would have been against him.

On the 21st Sept., 1640, the king had a second son born, who was at first named the Duke d'Anjou, but who, after the death of Gaston, received the title of duke of Orleans, and was the founder of the present family of that name. This gave the queen no additional influence ; and it is even asserted that the cardinal extorted a promise from the king, that in the event of his death and of his declaring the queen regent, he would name him head of the council of the regency, with orders to the queen to follow his advice implicitly. If the cardinal had survived his master, we have no idea that this would have proved an exception to the little respect with which the will of a deceased monarch is always observed.

This year the grand ecuyer, or, as he was called, Monsieur le Grand, was very near losing the king's favour ; and although the minister had several causes for being dissatisfied with him, which went on increasing till the fatal catastrophe, he took great pains to bring about a reconciliation. Cinq-Mars had a mistress in Paris named Marion de l'Orme—to whom the cardinal himself is said to have been no stranger—to whose residence he went with quickest speed the moment the king was gone to bed, and returned before his hour of rising. Marion de l'Orme was one of those women of pleasure of whom both ancient and modern history furnish us with examples : she had wit, intelligence, and graces, as well as personal beauty, and enslaved the minds of her admirers as well as their passions. She was the intimate friend and companion of the celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos ; and their society, from its elegancies as well as its voluptuousness, might be said to rival that of the Aspasiases of antiquity.

Notwithstanding the exertions of M. le Grand, his night's orgies sometimes made him oversleep himself ;

and the king, who was an early riser, was told more than once, upon inquiring for Cinq-Mars, that he had not yet left his bed. This made the king frequently rally his favourite upon his laziness, without, however, curing him. But becoming acquainted with this amour, the king forbade him to visit the lady again; and was the more positive in his commands, from having heard a report that Cinq-Mars was so infatuated as to be about to be married to her privately. As, in addition to her character, she was of mean birth, and had no property, the relations of the grand ecuyer, who all looked to him for favours, and were fearful of their flowing in a new direction, were violently opposed to the marriage, in which the king seconded them, from his great dislike to having his favourites married at all. Whether Cinq-Mars was of a haughty, uncomplying disposition, or that he believed himself so completely master of the king's mind that it was impossible for him to lose his influence, he replied to his majesty's remonstrances very disrespectfully. In addition to these reasons for his imprudent behaviour, we may add with safety the fascination of Marion de l'Orme. Cinq-Mars was very young: his mistress was older than he was; and there is no influence so strong as that of a bewitching, beautiful, and intelligent woman, who happens to be more advanced in years than her victim. When we remember the miracles told of her friend Ninon's power in her old age, we cannot be surprised at Cinq-Mars being blinded to his interests by the charms of his mistress.

The king was so provoked by his rudeness, that he forbade him his presence, and remained in his chamber himself for several days, under the pretence of having an attack of fever.

The cardinal did everything in his power to reconcile the grand ecuyer with his master; and as he was at Ruel and the king at St. Germain's, he wrote to his majesty and charged Cinq-Mars with the delivery of the packet.

The king having read the letter, said to the grand ecuyer : “ Monsieur le Cardinal informs me that you have expressed to him a strong desire to comply with my wishes in all respects, and yet you do not do so in a matter upon which I begged him to speak to you—I mean your idleness.” Instead of promising the king to correct himself of this fault, Cinq-Mars replied that it was out of his power to overcome his habits. The king replied, “ To a man of your condition, who ought to render himself worthy of commanding armies, and who has expressed his desire to do so, idleness is a most injurious obstacle.” Cinq-Mars rudely replied that he had never expressed an inclination of the kind, and the king maintained the contrary ; after which he said, that laziness made a man incapable of everything that was worth doing ; that it was only fit for the inhabitants of the Marais, among whom he had been brought up, who were entirely abandoned to the pursuit of pleasure ; and if he persisted in leading that kind of life, the sooner he returned to it the better.” The grand ecuyer answered, haughtily, that he was quite ready to return to it ; and the king, who exhibited more good sense than usual in this interview, rejoined, “ If I were not more prudent than you, I very well know what sort of an answer I should make you on that head.” He added, that Cinq-Mars having great obligations to him, besides being his king, he ought not to speak to him in that manner. The grand ecuyer, however, resumed the same tone : “ He did not value the benefits he had received, he was quite ready to give them back again : he could do very well without them ; he was quite as well satisfied with being Cinq-Mars as with being called Monsieur le Grand, and he should not change his manner of living.” The king and he continued to provoke each other all the way to the castle, and when they came into the courtyard, the king told him that whilst he continued in his present humour he

would please to absent himself from his presence. This curious dialogue between a king and a subject is preserved in a letter written by Louis himself to the cardinal; it bears date January 5, 1641. The grand ecuyer retired, and did not appear before the king for several days.

We plainly perceive by his insolent and hasty deportment, that Cinq-Mars was not a man likely to remain long in the post the cardinal had placed him in; and we may likewise see that either Louis was, at heart, still infatuated with his favourite, or that he was not of a very impatient temper. The all-powerful cardinal, however, at the earnest entreaties of the repentant Cinq-Mars, soon appeased the king's anger, and the king and his favourite resumed their usual mode of living. The minister was delighted at having an opportunity of making Cinq-Mars more dependent upon him by becoming necessary for the continuation of the king's partiality. By his means he became acquainted with all his master's thoughts; for Louis seemed to seek relief for his customary dissimulation and reserve in the society of Cinq-Mars, and poured out the most secret workings of his shallow mind with the greatest freedom. Even if he had wished to conceal anything, his favourite had only to lead with tact to the subject they wanted to be enlightened upon, and his real sentiments were easily discovered beneath the thin cloak of dissimulation with which he covered them; so that the cardinal, informed of everything, regulated his conduct by this secret intelligence; and his master must sometimes have thought him inspired, from his power of fathoming his thoughts and preventing his wishes. Although the king abandoned the entire direction of his affairs to his wily minister, he liked him to communicate everything to him, and did not fail to scold him if he learnt he had made any concealment; if he did not, he was sure to express his dissatisfaction in his private conversation with his favourites; and the cardinal took care, in apparent

ignorance, to appease him by the seasonable flatteries he knew so well how to mingle in his discourse. What a study is the conduct of these two men to each other ! It is like reading one of Shakespeare's tragedies ; it opens views of human nature you never could have conceived to exist. You despise the one, you hate the other ; but you are astonished at the manner in which the drama is carried on.

As soon as Cinq-Mars had become reconciled to the king, he imagined he had nothing more to fear, although the king had told him that if the cardinal had been against him, he would have entirely abandoned him. Louis, though willing that most of what he said should be repeated to the cardinal, became, nevertheless, sometimes tired of being surrounded by spies ; but the absolute necessity in which he felt himself for his minister, and the exalted opinion he had of his capacity, prevented his driving these people from his presence, although he was annoyed by them. To have the luxury, however, of speaking to somebody with freedom, he made the grand ecuyer take an oath not to repeat to the cardinal what he said to him. The acute minister soon perceived the change, and the moment his suspicion was awakened, the destruction of the favourite of his own creation was resolved upon. The enemies of the cardinal, having remarked the coolness which had taken place between them, did not fail to insinuate to the grand ecuyer that the minister was ill-disposed towards him, and only waited for an opportunity to ruin him. Cinq-Mars, who, naturally, could not like his benefactor, looked upon his greatness as an obstacle to his own, and entirely ceased to render him any good offices with the king. That prince was not so dull as not to be very soon convinced that Cinq-Mars kept his word, and did not communicate what he said to the cardinal ; he consequently became more warmly attached to him than ever, and resolved upon introducing

him into the council. One day, the councillors of state with the cardinal entering the chamber in which the king was, for the purpose of holding a council, as the courtiers were retiring to give them room and Cinq-Mars was following them, the king stopped him and turning towards the cardinal, said: "In order that my young friend (pointing to Cinq-Mars) may be some day capable of serving me, I think it advisable that he should be initiated early in the affairs of my council." The cardinal, who knew very well it was of no use to oppose the king's will directly, showed not the least repugnance, and held the council, taking care, however, to propose nothing of importance; but, on the following day, he represented to the king all the evil consequences that would result from such an unprecedented step, and the injury it would do to his reputation and that of the council, if it were known that they could not discuss any affair of importance without a young man in the condition of the grand ecuyer being called upon to join them. This remonstrance made so strong an impression on the king's mind, that he gave up the idea of introducing Cinq-Mars into the council.

From that time the secret hatred which the grand ecuyer felt for the cardinal broke out publicly; and the annoyances which the cardinal gave him had much more effect upon his weak but ambitious mind than all the benefits the minister had heaped upon him. But both having their eyes constantly on their common patron, and knowing his desire that they should be on friendly terms, they maintained an outward appearance of cordiality, which constraint, perhaps, only made their mutual hatred the stronger. But the repressed fire soon broke out. Cinq-Mars either fell in love with the Princess Mary of Mantua, or became ambitious of such an alliance; and she was not to be attained unless he were created a duke and peer. He ridiculously supposed that nothing was more

easy, and mentioned the affair to the cardinal almost as a matter of course ; the minister, however, considered him both imprudent and presumptuous, and took the opportunity of placing before his eyes all he had done to raise him and his father from the simple rank of gentlemen to the degree of honour they then enjoyed. Cinq-Mars was not in the least degree less haughty than the cardinal ; nothing wounds the spirit of such a man like proving to him that he owes all that places him in the elevated position he thinks only the due reward of his merit, to the good offices of another ; and he set his mind to work more earnestly than ever to destroy his benefactor. He engaged in his interests Francis de Thou, grandson of the celebrated historian Jacques Auguste de Thou, an accomplished young man in all that could qualify him for the profession of the long robe, who, being a relation or friend of several persons whom the cardinal had oppressed, and having himself a quarrel with him for having prevented his becoming a councillor of state, after some hesitation, entered into the views of the grand ecuyer, and persuaded the duke of Orleans and the Duke de Bouillon to do so likewise. They flattered themselves with hopes of success, from Cinq-Mars being aware that the king was anxious for peace, and had likewise intimated that he wished there were an end to the cabals that were constantly kept alive in the kingdom by the private interests of the cardinal. Throughout the whole of this man's ministry, these interests, or his caprices, sometimes of the most paltry kind, produced effects disastrous to individuals or the nation. His opposition to the advancement of De Thou was one of these. Grave historians assert that his enmity to this promising young man was caused by his grandfather having mentioned disrespectfully in his historical work a person of the name of Du Plessis, and whom, after all, he could not prove to have been one of his relations. The cardinal's injuries, however small, were

repaid in earnest ; for the fancied offence of the grandfather, he endeavoured to blight the prospects of the son ; he of course made an enemy of him, and, quite as naturally, hunted him to destruction. The king had also, partly from fear and partly from dislike, treated some of the creatures the cardinal placed about him with great coolness, whilst Cinq-Mars seemed to be in greater favour than ever ; and these circumstances attracted many into the nascent conspiracy.

Richelieu, however, at this period, strengthened himself by an alliance with the royal house of Condé : the Duke d'Enghien married the cardinal's niece, the daughter of Marshal de Brezé. It is said that the Prince de Condé, who had at first rejected the proposals for this marriage, was won over in part by the great advantages which the cardinal promised with his niece, and partly by the fear which was artfully infused into his mind, that if he scorned this alliance, the minister would ruin him in some way or other. But Condé wanted nothing more than the prospect of getting a large portion of the cardinal's wealth into his family. The nobles of the regency had become so habituated to see money considered the prime good, that the love of it never forsook them, and no two usurers in Paris coveted it more warmly than the Prince de Condé and the proud Duke d'Epernon. The betrothment was celebrated on the 17th of February, and a superb ballet was given on the occasion, in the Palais Cardinal. This ballet represented the successes of the arms of France ; and the decorations of the hall and the dresses of the actors were changed five times. The first scene displayed the earth embellished with forests, with the genius of Harmony supported on clouds, and surrounded by a number of singing-birds, who continued to pour out their mellifluous notes ; in the second appeared Italy upon a mountain, and Arras and Casal in the distance ; the third was the sea, surrounded with rocks, and covered

with vessels and galleys, with three Sirens; the fourth was an opening heaven, from which the nine muses descended; and the fifth was the earth, with Concord riding in a gilded car. The stage being changed into a magnificent ballroom, the queen, accompanied by all her court, placed herself at the upper end, and the Duke d'Enghien having led her out to dance, the ballet began, and the entertainment was finished by a splendid collation. The nuptials were performed on the 11th of the same month, with the magnificence which the cardinal knew so well how to display, where his own ostentatious spirit could be gratified by it. Upon perusing the above description, many of our readers will smile, and think such an affair rather droll than tasteful. It is true we live in days when science effects marvels; but we must recollect that this is just such an exhibition as those Inigo Jones and Ben Jonson had got up for King James; it was in an age when better painters were living than any we can now boast; it was about the time in which Mary de Medici had built the Luxembourg, and Richelieu the Palais Royal; and, lastly, let us ask ourselves, how the newspaper accounts of our last pantomimes will *read* two hundred years hence?

But even amidst the diversions attendant upon this marriage, the minister was brooding over a mortification he intended to inflict upon the parliament of Paris, which had dared, more than once, to make some resistance to his will. Some weeks after, the king called an assembly of all the chambers, in which he appeared surrounded by the princes of the blood, by dukes and peers, and many other nobles of the court. He there read a declaration, by which he forbade the parliament to interfere with affairs of state, and ordered them to receive his edicts, not for the purpose of disapproving of them, but simply to register them. The king still further declared, that he had the power of disposing of all parliamentary offices, and that

he should reward such persons with them as he thought merited them. He at the same time deposed the president Barillon, and the councillors Scarron, Solo, and some others, who had been expelled before. He ordered the parliament to render an account of its proceedings, every three months, to the chancellor, and to ask, every year, permission of his majesty to continue in its functions. Thus the king entirely destroyed the authority of the parliament of Paris. This prince imagined that he and his minister were the only persons who interested themselves in the conservation of the kingdom, and that nothing was right or just but that which the imperious prelate pronounced to be so.

Such as ventured to defend the rights of the parliament, said, in vain, although with much reason, that the persons who composed it never pretended to be the tutors of their kings, nor to arrogate to themselves an authority superior or even equal to theirs, nor to perform the functions of tribunes of the people, as their enemies said they did. They acknowledged themselves to be subjects of the king, and dependent upon his authority; but they said there was a political secret concealed in the exercise of their charges, with which court flatterers were unacquainted. The ancient kings of France having been convinced that a pure monarchy, in which all the laws depended upon the will of a single person, was of short duration, had wished to temper the form of government by adding some appearance of an aristocracy, and by establishing laws which even they themselves were not permitted to violate, in order that the people might yield with more readiness to their sovereign authority. They submitted their edicts, therefore, voluntarily, to the examination of parliaments, in order that they might warn them if there were anything in them opposed to law and equity. Their consciences and their true interests engaged them equally to observe these laws, and not to violate justice. Never-

theless, in case they should believe that parliaments did not give them good counsel, they were always in a condition to employ their absolute power, as appeared by these terms of their edicts : *For such is our good pleasure*. Declarations were not addressed to the parliaments for mere form's sake, but to be examined, in order that the people might afterwards submit to them without repugnance. The ancient policy of the kings of France had been to make all pardons emanate from them, and leave the exercise of justice to the sovereign courts. This relieved the kings from everything that was odious in the exercise of severe justice, and freed them from the importunity of courtiers, who, without that, would have made them commit injustices prejudicial to their own authority. In glancing over the history of France, we must declare we are at a loss to find these prudent kings. Every king of France seems to us to have fancied himself an arbitrary monarch, and if even he was good and indulgent to his people, his benefits were conferred as if coming from a master. It has been observed by good historians, that the weakness of the French parliaments arose from the fact of there being no written laws to determine the extent of their functions or rights. There is some spirit in the passage we have quoted, but the admission of *for it is our good pleasure*, renders all the rest nugatory.

After some years of arbitrary possession of the states of Lorraine, the cardinal found that the scandal of the seizure injured him very much in the opinion of foreign princes, particularly in Italy; and, either from an ostentatious wish to show his power, or from policy, he determined to re-establish the duke in his dominions. The duke had fallen in love with the countess of Cantecroix, and wished to repudiate the Princess Nicole; of which affair we can only find space to say that the cardinal, always fond of female intervention in his policy, availed himself of the Countess de Cantecroix's influence over the

duke to incline him to make overtures for a reconciliation with France; he, on his side, promising to use his authority at Rome for obtaining the divorce of the Princess Nicole—so is human happiness trifled with in state questions.

The duke came to Paris and saw the cardinal, after which he had an interview with the king. When presented, he knelt on one knee, and said that he came to humble himself before his majesty, and to leave his fortunes to his clemency. The king offered three times to raise him, but he said he would not rise from that posture till his majesty had pardoned his past faults. The king thereupon replied that he had no remembrance of the past, and was willing to aid him for the future. The duke then rose, and put on his hat; after which he paid his respects to the queen and the duke of Orleans.

The duke was anxious to receive his estates and to obtain money to maintain his little army; but his principal object was the divorce, and here the cardinal played him false, for, notwithstanding his fair promises, he gave his word to the nuncio that he would not interfere in that affair; and in order to prevent any disagreeable conversation with the duke about it, he caused a report to be circulated, that the king meant to try to bring about a reconciliation between the duke and the Princess Nicole.

The duke was restored by solemn treaty, but very much to the advantage of France, which retained Nanci as a guarantee till the war was over, and several states in perpetuity. The duke did homage for the duchy of Bar, but not for that of Lorraine, of which the king of Spain was considered suzerain. How favourable the conditions were to France may be judged of by the concluding article. "The duke promised to observe these articles so faithfully, that he consented, in addition to that which he had definitively made over to the crown of France, that all the rest of his states should devolve to the said crown, if he acted in any

way in contravention of the treaty." By this treaty the cardinal put the king in a condition to invade Lorraine afresh, with a much greater appearance of justice, if the duke infringed in the least upon the articles agreed to; which, from the known vacillation and imprudence of his character, there was very little doubt he soon would do. Nevertheless, France arrogated to herself great honour for this restitution, and the ministers loudly boasted of her generosity.

The inflexible cardinal proved himself equally formidable to all classes of the nation, to the poor and weak, to the rich and powerful. The war was ruinous to the people, and the taxes, the principal burthen of which fell upon the peasantry, became intolerable. The impost of the *taille*, in particular, was levied upon them with frightful rigour. They were considered in their villages as *solidaires*, or bound and responsible, for one another, and frequently when these unfortunate people had exhausted every means to discharge their quota, they had their harvests, their furniture, and even their persons seized, to discharge the taxes demanded of some neighbours still poorer than themselves. Several of these miserable people, who were thrown into prison on this odious pretence, were protected and set at liberty by the parliament of Rouen, whose benevolent decrees the council, or rather the cardinal, immediately ordered to be annulled. The increased rigour at length drove many of the inhabitants of lower Normandy to despair; and, designated by the contemptuous epithet *Va-nu-pieds*, or *Go-bare-feet*, they took up arms, and intrenched themselves among the hills of Avranches. Foreign troops, under the stern Gassion, stifled the insurrection in the blood of the insurgents; and after the soldiers came the judges and the executioners. Richelieu selected his ready tool Seguier as the avenger of royal authority: the parliament of Normandy was suppressed, the city of Rouen was charged with an enormous contribution, and

Seguier declared that the whole province should be governed by the will of the king alone, without limit or without control. He presided over a tribunal of his own choosing, which pronounced a multitude of sentences of confiscation, exile, and death.

When we view these proceedings in conjunction with the annihilation of the powers of the parliaments, which took place at about the same time, we at once perceive the character of Richelieu's policy, and are able to judge whether it was such as to entitle him to the character of a great and good statesman, which some writers have not hesitated to bestow upon him. He crushed revolts or expressions of public suffering with a pitiless will and a hand of iron ; and with equal inflexibility destroyed everything that might become an obstacle or a counterpoise to the will of the king. His own words best paint his policy : " I never venture to undertake anything till I have thoroughly considered it ; but, when once I have formed a resolution, I go straight to my object ; I overthrow everything, and cut down everything ; and then, I cover all with my scarlet robe."

In the campaign of 1641, France maintained the advantages she had gained in Piedmont and Artois. Guébriant was eminently fortunate in Germany ; he succeeded, after a long and difficult march, in joining at Zwukau, on the Mulda, the illustrious Swedish general Bannier, who died immediately after this junction, which had saved his army. Guébriant beat Piccolomini at Wolfenbuttel, and gained, on the 17th January, 1642, the important battle of Kempten.

Louis XIII. now secured the possession of Catalonia, which had given itself to France. Roussillon depended upon that fine province ; Richelieu resolved to drive the Spaniards out of it, and he led the king there at the head of a powerful army, which besieged Perpignan. This place surrendered on the 4th of September, 1642, and the

victory of Lamothe Houdancourt over Leganez, at Lerida, completed the conquest of Roussillon.

To return to the affairs of the cardinal. The queen-mother, who had been for some time in London, was obliged to leave England, in consequence of the pressing and secret instances which the cardinal made to Charles I. That prince, seriously embroiled with his own people, was not in a condition to refuse anything to the minister of Louis XIII., for fear he should foment his troubles still more than he did; and he informed his mother-in-law that she would oblige him by leaving England. She wished to return to the Low Countries, but, in spite of all the efforts of the king of England, the Spaniards, who had been but little pleased with her past conduct, would not even allow her to pass through their states. The United Provinces did not dare to offer her an asylum, for fear of offending the cardinal; so that she was obliged to go to Cologne, where she resided up to the period of her death, in a state of great indigence.

The cardinal, who seemed to derive pleasure from the mortifications of this unfortunate princess, was not sorry at seeing her abandoned by her daughters and her sons-in-law, as she had been by her son. He had the further gratification of learning, at the end of the year 1641, that his friend and pupil Jules Mazarin had received the cardinal's hat, for which Richelieu had so long importuned the pope.

As the cardinal approaches the great termination of all his machinations, he appears to take the delight in them that is felt by an experienced practitioner in science, or an expert adept at a game of skill. The Count de Soissons had insulted him by declining to marry his niece; the Duke de Bouillon, under whose protection the Count de Soissons resided at Sedan, had refused to give up, sell or exchange, that important place, which Richelieu wanted to make the centre of a principality for himself; and the

archbishop of Rheims, the son of the Duke de Guise, had a quarrel with him about some rich benefices, and was obliged, likewise, to retire to Sedan. Against these, then, the cardinal commenced operations by annoying, defaming, and insulting them in every possible way. Means worthy of a Machiavel were had recourse to to drive these high-spirited nobles to desperation, and at length succeeded. They entered into a league with Spain, long after they had been accused of such a thing; fortified all the places they held or could take, and declared open rebellion against the cardinal. The opinion entertained by a great part of France of the subject of our biography is so fully expressed in the Count de Soissons' manifesto, and is so much to the purpose, that, however long, we cannot do better than lay it before our readers. We must preface it by stating that the cardinal, who had driven them to this extremity by accusing them before they had committed any crime, and by ill-treating them before they had been found guilty, began to fear he had embarked in a perilous affair. If he besieged Sedan, it might be with serious loss, and still more injurious discredit, as that place would be defended by skilful, brave, and desperate men; if it were not attacked, it was to be apprehended that as soon as the princes had an army, they would make incursions into the kingdom, and if they were successful, in the present state of public opinion, their party would become more formidable every day. Another circumstance, likewise, gave him great uneasiness: Bullion, the superintendent of finances, and one of his creatures, had recently died, and had at his last hour seen the king and revealed to his majesty some very disagreeable truths. He told him that all the public money was consumed upon the marine and the artillery, the cardinal being intendant of the marine, and his cousin, the Marshal de la Meilleraye, grand master of the artillery. He said the cardinal was the author of this war, and kept

it up for the furtherance of his own private interests. Bullion said he had long been at a loss how to find money to support it; but if his majesty would be pleased to afford his kingdom a few years of peace, considerable sums might be laid aside for any purpose for which the king might wish to employ them. The poor dying man begged the king not to repeat what he said to the cardinal whilst he lived, as, if he did, he was sure he should not be allowed to die in his bed. The king promised him, and, for a wonder, kept his word. As soon as Bullion had breathed his last, the king repeated his death-bed confession to the cardinal, who only haughtily replied, that *he was sorry his majesty only brought a dead witness against him*. The king rejoined, with great *naïveté*, "I only refrained from speaking for the sake of the poor man, who said if I did, you would certainly destroy him."

The Marshal de Châtillon was placed at the head of the army of Champagne, and the king advanced to Abbeville. Here the king put forth a proclamation, declaring the princes in Sedan would be considered open enemies of the state, if within a month they did not acknowledge their error, and have recourse to his clemency.

The manifesto of the princes was called—a manifesto, for the justice of the arms of the princes of peace; but it is the Count de Soissons alone that speaks. After having said that his conscience obliged him to publish the evil designs of the cardinal, and that he had only abstained from it to leave to the king the sole glory of chastising that proud minister, who had possessed himself of the whole of the royal authority, he continued by stating, that he had been obliged, during four years, to reside in Sedan for the sake of safety, and had gone to no other place, in order to avoid giving the cardinal occasion to accuse him of being the enemy of France. Nevertheless, the cardinal had used every means to make himself master

of Sedan, although the Duke de Bouillon had done nothing that ought to deprive him of the king's protection. Nothing had been neglected to make the king sensible of the ill-conduct of his minister, but all the result had been the imprisonment and ruin of those who had dared to undertake it. The injured, therefore, found themselves under the necessity to sound the tocsin of war, to make themselves listened to by the king. After several deliberations with the Dukes de Bouillon and Guise, and many other princes and officers of the crown, he proclaimed the cardinal to be the greatest and most dangerous enemy of the king and the state ; he had rendered himself master of the strongest places in the kingdom, and seized the mouths of the principal rivers, the ports and the isles of the ocean, the salt-works, and all the resources of France. To maintain himself in this usurpation, he ruined the rest of the kingdom by war, in order that no one should be in a condition to force him to a restitution of what he appropriated to himself. His object was to place his ill-got wealth in the hands of those to whom he had allied himself (meaning the Duke d'Enghien, who had just married one of his nieces), and whom he sought to bring nearer to the crown, though they ought to be kept further from it ; if he was not in a condition to effect this design, he was perfectly able to give up to them the keys of France, to open and close the gates of commerce, and reduce, at his pleasure, the great cities to famine. The king and Monsieur were both aware of all this, but did not dare to speak, and he, the Count de Soissons, spoke in the name of the whole royal house. The truth of this appeared in his rendering the best years of the duke and duchess of Orleans sterile. There was great reason to fear that he would so fortify himself against the power of the king or of justice, as not to be compelled to render an account of the peculations he had committed upon the public purse, or of the oppression he had inflicted upon so

many worthy people. He had rashly engaged the reputation of the king, dissipated his revenues, lavished the blood of the nobility and soldiers, ransomed officers, and reduced the people to the lowest state of misery, to satisfy his passions, and carry out his private quarrels. He had only declared war for the purpose of preserving his ill-got authority, which he could not do unless the state were kept in continual agitation. He had either rendered suspected, or accused of high-treason, all who had endeavoured to diminish his power, in order to deprive them of their charges, that he might take them himself, or dispose of them in favour of persons willing to engage in supporting his tyranny. He had ruined the best families of the kingdom for the sake of elevating his own, and reduced many good houses to misery to enrich low and worthless people. He had drained France of money to send specie to foreign countries, and filled the kingdom with a debased currency. He had bought of the Swedes and others, at a very dear rate, places he was unable to keep, like Philipsbourg, or which he must restore without reimbursement, like Brisach and others. He had squandered without discretion the public money in Italy, to acquire friends, whom he had afterwards ruined, and thus rendered contemptible the protection the king had afforded to the dukes of Mantua, Parma, and Savoy. He had made efforts in Spain, which had brought nothing but disgrace upon France, and effected conquests in the Netherlands, which were burthensome to the state, and only calculated to make the war everlasting. He had created an infinite number of useless offices, and exhausted the ordinary resources, by selling or pledging the domains and aids at so high a price, that they could not be redeemed without injustice. He had compelled several religious orders, such as Cîteaux, Clairvaux, and Prémontré, to elect him their general, imprisoning the monks who refused to give him their voices. With regard to the other orders, he had

persuaded them, by a thousand artifices, to elect vicars-general in France, in order that they might have no communication with Rome, and that he might make himself head of the Gallican Church, spiritually as well as temporally. The king had no longer any allies who were able to assist him ; all he had were subsidized by France, and were only able to make feeble diversions at her expense. All whom the cardinal had supposed to be capable of resisting his will had been placed in the hands of the executioner, after having passed through those of corrupted commissioners, selected by himself, or rotted in prison, or were driven from the court. He had banished the queen-mother from the kingdom with unheard-of and frightful ingratitude, and ill-treated all the princes and nobles of the kingdom. He had violated or annihilated all the laws and ancient ordinances of the country, under the specious pretence of establishing the authority and absolute will of the king. He had deprived all the princes and all communities of their ancient franchises, and broken the contracts former kings had made with them. He held in contempt, and laughed at the princes, dukes, peers, marshals, and other officers of the crown. He had condemned, by commissioners dependent upon himself, and placed in prison without even the form of a trial, a number of innocent nobles. Bishops had been tried, contrary to the laws of the state ; other ecclesiastics had been deprived of their benefices, and all had been obliged, in addition to the usual *tenths*, to pay immense sums, more than a third of their revenue, to maintain corsairs on the seas, commanded by an archbishop, and troops upon land, who plundered churches, kept in pay by a cardinal. He had extremely ill-treated two archbishops, presidents of the last assembly of the clergy, for having ventured to represent the small means of the French ecclesiastics of France, who had furnished five millions and a half above their ordinary tenths. Several

noblemen had been placed upon the *taille*, forced to the *arrière-ban*, and deprived of all their employments, for having refused to be of his party. Presidents and councillors of the sovereign courts had been interdicted, expelled, or detained prisoners, when they had dared to speak a word for the king and the public, or had opposed novelties which tended to the ruin of the kingdom. Many officers of justice and of the finances had been ruined by inquiries and new regulations. The city of Paris, after the extraordinary aids with which it had furnished the king, had been placed upon the *taille* like others, and had seen her citizens taxed at discretion, under the fine name of *Aisez*. All other cities which had been exempt from the *taille* would pay it in the same manner as long as the war lasted—that is to say, as long as the Cardinal de Richelieu should be minister. Heavy imposts had been laid upon merchandise—the twentieth denier was even levied upon the most necessary things of life. Champagne was desolated by soldiers and *Gardes de Sel*,* which reduced the peasantry to the food and the litter of beasts, to die of hunger, to take up arms, or to beg; made them abandon the culture of their fields, and produced numberless inconveniences for the nobility, the clergy, and all the citizens of the state.

After giving this most extraordinary manifesto, comprising so many and such varied accusations against a minister as, we think, were never brought against any other, one of the best of the cardinal's biographers says: "Such are the complaints made against the Cardinal de Richelieu, and there is no doubt that most of them were well founded. The evil was, that it was to be believed, that if they who censured his conduct with so much reason had been able to take his place, they would have acted very little otherwise, and no better than he did, without being

* Guards of the government salt, in the salt-working districts.

able to exhibit half the ability the cardinal displayed." This is dismissing the matter too shortly. After having followed the career of this extraordinary man, we feel convinced that there were grounds for almost all the accusations here made, and that they form a mass that no man would like to lie upon his conscience. But these accusations are coloured by the feelings of the Count de Soissons; and if we look through them carefully, we shall find that several of the charges, if proved, redound to the praise of the minister, and we have no doubt that his advocates would prove that there was at least *policy* in most of the acts here blamed. We cannot admit the probability of the defalcations of others in his place as any excuse for him. A really great man is not governed by the passions that influenced the cardinal's whole career, nor would such a one have made the cardinal's great aim the arbitrary power of the throne, by which he secured his own authority, the main object of his policy. We feel no hesitation in saying, that if the Chancellor l'Hôpital, who preceded him by more than half a century, had been in his position, with such a king and every one of Richelieu's difficulties, he could have carried out all the good and wholesome parts of that minister's policy, without leaving such stains, produced by cruelty and oppression, upon his character, as, so far from being expunged by time, become the more hideous the more we are humanized and enlightened. No man or thing is great or good but by comparison, and we even think Sully would have acted more ably and honestly. The French have a statue in memory of Richelieu in Paris, upon seeing which Peter the Great made so extraordinary a demonstration.* Now, certainly, never did a nation bestow such

* Peter threw his arms round it, and exclaimed: "Great minister! if you were living, I would give you one-half of my dominions, to teach me how to rule the other half." "Would you?" said a bystander; "then, *pardieu*! he would soon get your half as well as his own."

ill-judged homage. There is scarcely an evil that France has undergone for the last two hundred years, that may not be traced to this man's policy. At a period when England and Holland were emancipating themselves nobly from the domination of one, France was cast into a worse despotism than she had endured in any age. Descartes had written, Corneille had sung, men thought and were enlightened; and when France ought to have taken the spring with other nations, she was seduced into the track which led to her fearful and yet unsettled revolution by the selfish ambition of Richelieu; for he cared no more for the king and his interests than for the bauble of the court jester. That which the biographer we have quoted seems to put forward as an excuse, we think aggravates his offences: the greater his abilities, the deeper is the dye of his crimes; we may pardon the errors of a fool, but we justly condemn the misdeeds of one whom God has constituted to know and to act better. Peter the Great's admiration of Richelieu was characteristic; his policy has been, and is, perhaps, stronger than ever, that of himself and his successors. But let Russia study the history of France, and beware: Louis XIV. ruled more greatly and despotically, for he ruled over great minds as well as innumerable slaves, than any czar can hope to do; and, the day after his death, his most darling laws and wishes were set at nought, his remains were consigned to the grave amidst the howlings and rejoicings of his people; within a century his representative on the throne was dragged to the block—and to this hour his descendants are wanderers upon the face of the earth! Such has been the fate of the despots Richelieu created: to describe the history of the myriads of people they ruled over, and maddened into insurrections, revolutions, and crimes, would require almost countless volumes.

To prevent being considered enemies to the state, the

malcontent nobles proclaimed that they had taken every possible security that the emperor and the king of Spain would, as well as themselves, lay down their arms as soon as they had conjointly obtained an honourable and secure peace—which they believed to be perfectly impossible whilst the cardinal had power to break it, as he had done that of Ratisbonne, and whilst every claimant should be kept out of that which belonged to him. They only, they said, took up arms to secure the peace, which the cardinal affected to desire, but to which he was, in reality, opposed : it was therefore natural for them to defend themselves as well as they could against the violences and treacheries of the cardinal. They earnestly exhorted the three estates of the kingdom to unite with them to obtain satisfaction for the injuries the cardinal had done them ; promising, nevertheless, to treat all that remained neuter with mildness, and declaring the cardinal and his partisans enemies of the state, whom they would pursue with the utmost rigour.

Before the appearance of this proclamation, the parliament of Paris put forth a decree by which all who were connected with the malcontents, or aided them in any way, were declared guilty of high treason. The Marshal de Châtillon entered the principality of Sedan, but effected nothing remarkable. But Lambic having joined the princes, they marched with 8,000 foot and 2,000 horse to offer battle to Châtillon, though he had 1,000 foot and 1,000 horse more than they had : Châtillon had orders not to risk anything, but to endeavour only to prevent their crossing the Meuse, and entering the kingdom. But the princes having crossed the Meuse on the night of the 5th and 6th of July, within a quarter of a league of his camp, without the marshal's guards perceiving them, as he was advancing, the next day, towards the river, in the expectation that they might attempt to cross it, he met their army in full march, and prepared to

give him battle, near the wood of Marsée. He quickly got his troops into line, and the enemy did the same, but in a narrow and much less advantageous place, so that there was great appearance of their being beaten. The marshal's right wing commenced the conflict with advantage; but the cavalry of the left wing were seized with an unaccountable panic, which at first made them turn their backs; and being followed by the horse of the princes, they rushed upon their own infantry, and so completely disordered them, that when attacked by the princes' infantry, after a short resistance, they followed the example of the cavalry, which nothing had been able to rally, and took to flight. This movement likewise carried away the right wing, and the marshal was obliged to retreat as well as the others. Whilst the rest of the army was thus flying, the regiment of Roussillon, and two companies of cavalry, which comprised all that did their duty, attacked the enemy with so great vigour, that they penetrated to the body commanded by the Count de Soissons. That prince, seeing his troops give way, charged the enemy boldly; and as he was fighting like a simple soldier, he was shot through the head by a pistol-ball, and fell dead at the foot of his horse. The three companies continued to contend with a victorious enemy till they were all cut to pieces. The royal army lost only 500 men, for the rest made their escape so quickly into the neighbouring woods, that the insurgents could not follow them. There were, however, 2,000 prisoners, and amongst them many officers of distinction. The malcontents also took all the cannon, baggage, and munitions of the royal army, whilst, on their own side, they lost but very few men. But the death of the Count de Soissons, who was the life, soul, and head of their enterprise, was much more fatal to them than the victory was advantageous. At the moment the Count de Soissons was shot, not one of his friends had his eye upon him, and the circumstance appeared so

strange, that all sorts of reports were circulated as to the cause or author of the fatal catastrophe. One account asserted that he had fallen by the hand of one of his own people; another, that on seeing the right wing of the royal army gain the first advantage, he despaired of success, and shot himself; whilst a third, as was sure to be the case when such a suspicion could possibly arise, attributed the fatal shot to a hired emissary of the cardinal's. The idea of suicide was rendered probable by the situation of the wound; it was directly in the middle of the forehead, where, as he fought with his vizor down, it is rather difficult to suppose another hand could have aimed the weapon. Twice, before the battle began, he had lifted his vizor, whilst speaking, with the muzzle of his loaded pistol, and had been warned by his squire of the danger of doing so. We have examined the various opinions, most of which are backed by some strong bias, and we must confess that we agree with Anquetil, who has been a favourite authority with us throughout this work. He argues all questions coolly and sensibly, and his leanings—for all men who write in earnest have such—are to the side of the good, and strongly averse from the bad. He says: "The cardinal had too much interest in the death of the Count de Soissons not to have contributed to it. That prelate only reigned by fear; he was not ignorant that all the orders of the state were disgusted with him; he had treated the clergy with austerity, the nobility with haughtiness, the parliaments with contempt; the soldiers were ill paid, and the people absolutely crushed by imposts. In this critical minute, it only required one victory to open the road to Paris to the Count de Soissons, because all the armies that could have strengthened Châtillon's were employed upon separate and distant frontiers. The king himself appeared to take very little interest in the matter: upon learning the first defeat of his troops, he prepared quietly to return to Paris,

without evincing either regret or uneasiness, like a man who had determined upon his line of conduct, and who knew he could quickly re-establish peace by sacrificing his minister. The death of the Count de Soissons was necessary to the cardinal, and the existence of that necessity is quite enough to warrant our belief that he brought it about."

The cardinal had never had so dangerous a direct revolt against his power: he knew De Soissons to be as implacable as himself; it was a life-and-death struggle between them; and in such circumstances he was not likely to be deterred by a murder, or to want an emissary to execute it. After the decided victory of the insurgents, if De Soissons had lived, Richelieu would to a certainty have been brought to the block. The count's pistol-wound was but another version of the poisoned cup of the duke of Saxe-Weimar, and an exemplification of the cardinal's maxim: "I overthrow everything, I cut down everything, when my aim is determined."

How frequently we find in the world's annals, that the life or death of one man decides the issue of an enterprise in which many thousands are embarked. The loss of De Soissons seemed to paralyze his party. Notwithstanding his experience and reputation as a leader, De Bouillon allowed the royal army to rally and recruit without any spirited effort to oppose them; and when the king returned to the siege of Sedan, the duke did not venture to resist him, but eagerly proposed an accommodation. The Duke de Bouillon was well received by the king, and highly complimented by the cardinal. Thus this fortunate minister saw a terrible storm, which had threatened his existence in every way, dispersed by the death of one of his bitterest enemies. The king granted letters of pardon to the duke and his party, and neutrality to the principality of Sedan, in order that it might not be exposed to the incursions of the Spaniards. The submission of

De Bouillon being produced by dread of the strength of the royal armies, could not be expected to be sincere ; he and the cardinal exchanged courtesies, but he did not love him more for his forced humiliation, as we shall see in the events of the next year.

In the mean time the never-ending contest with Spain was going on, generally to the advantage of France. This war was really a game played by the two ministers, and Olivarez was no match for Richelieu. No right-principled mind can either like or admire Richelieu ; but all must accede to him his title of an acute politician, when in collision with a man of common intellect like the Spanish minister. If Olivarez had adopted a fair and honourable line of policy, we have the faith in the ultimate success of rectitude to believe he might, in the end, have defeated his enemy ; but it was a contest of finesses and intrigues ; and in such a one Richelieu was unequalled. Let none of our readers think that we, by this admission, allow him to have been a great minister ; we have no belief in his ever having acted upon the enlarged and noble principle which should guide a powerful state. Duclos, in his *Mémoires sur la Régence*, says : “The great minister is he who, for great and useful objects, proportions his means to his enterprises, crowns them with success, and may justly take pride in events from having foreseen them, prepared them, and brought them about.” We think this one of the finest definitions of a great minister in a few words that we ever read ; and certainly it bears no resemblance to Cardinal de Richelieu : his was a ministry of unprincipled measures and unscrupulous means. It is absurd to talk of his debasement of the great nobles being an act of state policy, for the good of the king of France : they were powerful enemies to his own unbounded authority, and he was strong enough to crush or check them ; that was all. If the policy had been intended, and, at the same time, sound,

by wresting undue influence from the nobles he might have ameliorated the lot of the people ; but his course lay in another direction : he bestowed the power upon the nominal king—that he might exercise it.

CHAPTER XII.

Conspiracy of Cinq-Mars—Sickness of the king and the cardinal—Cinq-Mars' plot discovered—Cinq-Mars, De Thou, and the Duke de Bouillon, arrested—Interview of the king and the cardinal—Trial and execution of Cinq-Mars and De Thou—Death of Mary de Medici—Pomp of the cardinal—Perpignan taken—Decline of the cardinal's health—Civility of the prince of Orange—Arrogance of Richelieu—Rapid decline—Circumstances preceding his death—Death of the cardinal, in his 58th year—His will, funeral, and epitaphs—Description of his person, &c.—Anecdotes—Observations upon his character, as a man and a minister.

THE grand ecuyer having, as we have said in a preceding chapter, become the enemy of the cardinal, he turned his whole attention to plans for his destruction. He felt that he should require the aid of Monsieur, who, notwithstanding forced appearances, had never loved the minister, who had heaped upon him all sorts of annoyances. Thus Cinq-Mars found no difficulty in seducing the duke into his party, by representing to him that the cardinal, who was quite aware of the decline of the king's health, was labouring to have himself appointed regent by the king's will, to the exclusion of all who might pretend to that honour. The duke, who looked upon this post as his own by birth, and who knew the ambition of Richelieu, easily believed the grand ecuyer, and had several secret conferences with him, to devise means for the great purpose of ruining the minister or destroying the man.

The duke of Orleans, however necessary to such a plot on account of his position, Cinq-Mars was convinced could be of no efficient use either by hand or brain, and he became very desirous to persuade the Duke de Bouillon to come to Paris. It so happened that Richelieu sent for Bouillon at the same time, to receive his orders before the duke went to take the command of the army in Italy. Upon his arrival in Paris, he had several interviews with Cinq-Mars, and they concluded that it would be necessary to treat with Spain for an army which might cover Sedan, and be capable of giving battle, as in the preceding year. They then settled between themselves that they would treat with the king of Spain in the name of Monsieur, who gave the necessary letters and memorials to Fontrailles to be delivered to the count-duke. This confidential envoy arrived safely with his credentials at Madrid, and concluded a treaty with Olivarez, by which the king of Spain promised to furnish Monsieur with 12,000 foot and 5,000 horse, all disciplined troops, and 400,000 crowns for the purpose of raising others. Monsieur, on his side, promised to throw himself into Sedan, as a place of security, where he could take the command of the army, and proceed at once into France to compel the cardinal to consent to a mutually honourable peace between the two countries, which, they said, was the basis of the treaty. But the real object was, by making a civil war in France, to drive the cardinal from power; and the duke of Orleans cared no more about the peace or the welfare of the people than either the minister or his brother the king did.

Richelieu perceived plainly that the grand ecuyer was busied with some machinations against him, but he could not obtain any details of his design. A report prevailed, that the regard of the king for his minister was very much shaken, and that Cinq-Mars enjoyed a much greater portion of his favour. The cardinal, dreading

that this rumour, which his enemies took pains to circulate, might become a fact, never lost sight of the king during his journey to Roussillon. On account of their retinues, they had been accustomed to lodge at different places, on a journey or a march; but this time, though it produced great inconveniences, the cardinal insisted upon lodging where the king lodged, and never missed having an interview with him the first thing in the morning and the last at night, to dissipate by his presence all that might be infused into the king's mind against him. Partial as Louis was to Cinq-Mars, Richelieu was so well acquainted with every portion of the king's character, and had had such practice in the managing of it, that the favourite had no chance in such a contest, and the cardinal easily defeated all that was attempted in that quarter.

It is asserted that Cinq-Mars more than once urged the necessity for killing the cardinal, but that neither the duke of Orleans nor De Thou would give their consent to the perpetration of such a crime. Other authorities say that the grand ecuyer had agreed with Monsieur to execute this project during the journey to Languedoc; but, although he met with an excellent opportunity at Briare, he did not dare to avail himself of it, in the absence of the duke of Orleans, who was prevented attending the king by a fit of the gout. He entertained a similar design at Lyons, where a great number of the nobles of Auvergne had come to meet the king, and even ventured to propose it to his majesty, but he rejected it with disdain, though he appeared dissatisfied with the cardinal, and allowed Cinq-Mars to speak ill of him. Whilst this affair was in slow progress, the duke of Orleans endeavoured to attach the duke of Beaufort to the party; but that nobleman was certain, from his knowledge of the man's character, that the Abbé de la Rivière, Gaston's chaplain, was only drawing his master into some dangerous plot, to be turned

to his own advantage, by betraying it when ripe, and would never have anything to do with it.

The conduct of Cinq-Mars became so imprudent as to attract the attention of everybody. Instead of conciliating his master, and endeavouring to preserve the good will of so liberal a benefactor, by a compliance with his humours, and attention to all he said, he seemed to take a pleasure in contradicting him, and avoided his society as much as he could. The king, in his partiality for him, was constantly inquiring for him, and he, as constantly, was not to be found. When his friends warned him that such behaviour must soon ruin him, he laughingly replied, that the king's breath was so bad, he really could not endure to go near him. Such a speech would find many faithful echoes in a court, and we cannot be astonished that the cardinal should succeed in destroying the influence of such an assuming and imprudent man. At Narbonne, it became very evident that the king's regard for Cinq-Mars was greatly diminished.

In this city, the cardinal fell seriously ill; a humour had settled in his arm for some time, and he had now two abscesses in his chest. His relations believed him to be struck with death, and he was unable to sign the will he made on the 23rd of May. It is said that Cinq-Mars, beginning to be frightened at the coolness he had so foolishly created in the king, had made up his mind to get rid of the cardinal by some means; but learning from his physicians that he could only live a few weeks, he judged it better to allow him to die, than to hasten his death by an act of violence which might prove fatal to the perpetrator of it. The difference between the cardinal and the grand ecuyer had become so public, that in the camp at Perpignan, the whole army was divided into two factions, one of which was styled the royalists, and the other the cardinalists; and it appeared that the bravest spirits were all attached to the former.

Soon after the king joined the army he had a serious attack of illness, but which did not last long. The grand ecuyer, however, secured the guards and the Swiss, and made the officers promise that they would assist the duke of Orleans in the contest about to take place between him and the cardinal, respecting the regency. Marshals de Schomberg and de la Meilleraye were of the opposite party, but in the event of the king's death, there was no doubt they would give way. The favour of Cinq-Mars evidently diminished daily, and he now became anxious to preserve the little appearance of it that was left. The king entirely abandoned his habit of conversing with him after he was in bed. All these evil omens made Cinq-Mars press the duke of Orleans to commence operations by retiring to Sedan, whilst the king as warmly urged him to join him at Perpignan. But the duke paid no attention to either of them. He did not obey the king, under the pretence of being ordered by his physicians to go to the waters of Bourbon, for the cure of his gout; and he did not go to Sedan, because a written order from the Duke de Bouillon to the governor of that place was necessary, and he had neglected to obtain it before the duke went into Italy. He sent for this order, but the duke being unacquainted with the messenger, refused to give it. The Count d'Aubijoux, one of Monsieur's domestics, was then despatched, disguised as a Capuchin.

In the mean time, the cardinal being still sick at Narbonne, and the king near Perpignan, the minister received intelligence from Spain that a Frenchman had been frequently seen in the antechamber of the count-duke, and there was a general report that the enemies of the cardinal were in treaty with the Spaniards; but it was not yet possible for the minister to have a copy of the treaty. This kept him in a state of perpetual anxiety, and he earnestly pressed the king to come to Narbonne, under the pretext of consulting with him upon affairs of the last

importance ; but it was in vain, for Louis persisted in being present at the blockade of Perpignan. The cardinal still further remarked that the king was very remiss in making inquiries after his health, which gave him reason to fear that his enemies had completely gained possession of his mind. He did not believe himself safe at Narbonne, and, under the pretence of the air of that city not being good for him, and of his being advised to take the waters of Tarascon, he left it ; and causing it to be given out that he was going by one road, he took quite another ; he changed his course several times, and even embarked at Agde, to perform a part of the journey by sea, in order that, in case of need, he should be able to retire to Italy. He kept his money and his valuable jewels all ready to be carried off at the first notice. Here is a study for the ambitious and the worldly ! How abject must be the state of the wretch who could envy the fate of this successful, aspiring man ! A body rotting, a mind tortured, a conscience silently but perpetually reproving.

It was at this time the report was strongest, that he was about to be disgraced ; and there is no doubt he communicated with the king on the subject, for a note from his majesty is still preserved, of the 3rd of June, in which he assures him “ *that whatever reports may be in circulation, he loves him more than ever, and they had been too long together to be ever separated ; which he wished all the world to know.* ” This note must have reassured him ; but the imprudent conduct of the grand ecuyer, who seemed incapable of either concealing his designs or preserving the favour of the king, placed him in greater safety.

Whilst Monsieur and Cinq-Mars were deliberating upon what was best to be done, without determining upon anything, the cardinal received a packet, in which he found a copy of the treaty of Madrid. Some assert that it was the pope's nuncio that sent it ; and a great variety of persons are named as having rendered him this im-

portant piece of service. If the Spaniards had knowingly allowed a copy of it to be taken, they committed an enormous error; and if this copy was in the hands of any of the conspirators who could make such a use of it, still greater blame is due to the leaders of the plot. Come from whom it might, the cardinal received it with great delight, and immediately sent off Chavigny to show it to the king, and to advise him to have Cinq-Mars arrested. Although the king had been disgusted by the behaviour of his favourite, Chavigny had the greatest difficulty in persuading him to place the criminal in the hands of justice. He went upon his knees to implore God to inspire him with the most proper determination, and sent for Father Sirmond, a Jesuit, his confessor, to ask his advice. The father confessor did not fail to say that in the case of such an enormous crime, the king could not hesitate in arresting the person accused of it. According to the practice of Louis XIII., to arrest any one for an offence against the state and to put him to death, were the same thing; as if he had been forbidden, once in his life, to pardon an enemy of the cardinal's.

It appeared scarcely practicable to arrest the grand ecuyer in the army, he being a great favourite with the younger officers and the soldiery; the king, therefore, determined upon going to Narbonne, under the pretence of being disposed to fever, although he had never been willing to go thither whilst the cardinal was there. He, besides, wished to confer with the minister relative to the affairs of Picardy, which province was placed in a dangerous situation by the defeat of the Marshal de Guiche. When the king went to Narbonne, Cinq-Mars, whose charge compelled him to attend upon the person of his majesty, followed him, although he had been warned that his designs were discovered. He was arrested on the 14th of June, notwithstanding his efforts to conceal

himself; after his pursuers had gone once fruitlessly over all the houses in Narbonne, he could not leave the city, every gate being strictly guarded. De Thou was arrested the night before, with Chavagnac, a Huguenot, and some of their people. The two last were taken to Tarascon, under a good guard, and Cinq-Mars was placed in the citadel of Montpellier.

Ossonville, lieutenant of the Duke de Bouillon's guards, who was left, on the part of the duke, with Cinq-Mars, as soon as he heard of the arrest, set off post to carry the news to the duke, that he might take measures for his own safety. He passed through Monfrin, opposite to Tarascon, on the other side of the Rhone, where the Viscount de Turenne then was, and imprudently thought it necessary to impart the news to him. Turenne, who was unacquainted with these intrigues, and who believed that perhaps the cardinal was equally ignorant of them, thought he should gratify him by informing him of the matter, and, at the same time, told him that he had learnt it from Ossonville, who was on his way to Italy. The cardinal immediately despatched a man after the talkative messenger, with the necessary orders for arresting him; he overtook him at Valence, and Ossonville was put in prison in that place. Orders had already been sent to Aiguebonne, Du-Plessis Prâlain, and Castelan, *maréchaux de camp* in the army of Italy, to arrest the Duke de Bouillon. This order was executed at Casal, although the duke had promptly concealed himself, whilst Couvanges, the governor of the place, was gone to fetch the king's order, for the purpose of showing it to him. Thus the duke and the grand ecuyer were taken, without any chance of escape, partly by their own imprudence, and partly by a sort of good fortune which seemed to attend the designs of the minister, from whom very few of his enemies escaped, whilst he extricated himself either skilfully or

fortunately from the most imminent dangers. The duke was confined for some time in the citadel of Casal, and in the month of August was transferred to Lyons, and placed in the prison of Pierre Ancise.

When the duke of Orleans learnt that the grand ecuyer was arrested, instead of seeking means or using his influence to save his friends, he exhibited his usual indifference and weakness. As he had no doubt his share in the plot was discovered, he sent the Abbé de la Rivière to the king to confess his fault and ask his pardon. He wrote letters, dated the 25th of June, to the king, the Cardinals de Richelieu and Mazarin, and the secretaries of state, De Noyers and Chavigny, filled with basenesses and falsehoods, either asking pardon, or entreating Mazarin and the two secretaries to assist him in obtaining it. The duke, however, burnt the original treaty which Fontrailles had brought him from Spain, and only kept a copy, which he might have burnt likewise, so that if he had had proper firmness, he could have been convicted of nothing. After this hasty confession, the king pardoned him, upon condition that he should go to Nisi, in Savoy, a house belonging to the Duke de Nemours, where he should reside, with a pension of two hundred thousand livres, the rest of his revenues being given up to his creditors. Monsieur wished to see the king before his departure, but the king refused, and the Marquis de Villeroi received orders to accompany him. It was first intended to send him to Venice, as appears by several letters, but that intention was changed. Neither did he go to Nisi; and it appears that the minister only feigned to wish to send him out of the kingdom, for the purpose of terrifying him into confession of all he knew.

In the mean while, the secretaries of state, both devoted creatures of the cardinal, made it their business to keep up the king's ill-will towards the prisoners. The Abbés d'Effiat and De Thou being anxious to intercede for their

brothers, implored an audience of the king, but he sent them a positive command not to intrude upon him. He remained still seriously indisposed, and resolved to return to Paris ; but previously to his departure, the cardinal succeeded in persuading him to be carried to Monfrin, about a league from Tarascon, to give him the meeting. For this purpose, another bed for the king was placed in the chamber in which the cardinal was confined, upon which the king was laid on his arrival. No one was present at this interview but De Noyers and Chavigny. It is said that the cardinal, after having enumerated with much exaggeration the services he had rendered the crown, reproached the king with having fomented machinations against his person, by allowing the grand ecuyer to remain about him after his designs had become public, and his majesty was acquainted with them. This speech drew tears from the eyes of the king, who related to the cardinal all that had passed to his disadvantage in the camp of Perpignan that had come to his knowledge, and promised to give the conspirators up to justice. What a subject for a painter is this scene ! Many could portray the two dying men, wasted by cares and diseases, reclining upon their beds, and pouring out their complaints and repentances ; but he should be a limner indeed who could properly represent the countenance of Richelieu, which, in spite even of *his* self-command, must have revealed shadowings of what was passing within, as he contemplated his imbecile victim sinking into the grave, and continued to instil that subtle poison which had obtained for him such a mastery. But when we reflect upon this scene, and upon the subjects which occupied it, we cannot avoid being impressed by the remembrance that the one lived only three months, and the other eleven months, after that awful interview. Some authors profess that Louis was not naturally cruel, and would not have given up the prisoners, whose principal crime was an attempt against

the cardinal, if he had not been overpowered by that genius which seemed to dominate over his mind when it came within the circle of its influence. But we cannot acquit Louis of cruelty; his childish sports even were commenced in cruelty, and his first act of power, the assassination of the Marshal d'Ancre, was perpetrated before Richelieu was even in his counsels. Cold, heartless characters are, in our belief, more disposed to cruelty than hot and impetuous natures; the latter may commit it in the fury of passion, but the former will dwell upon it, and protract it; thus rendering it more painful in its effects and more hateful in its character.

The king took the road to Lyons, and the cardinal, unable to leave Tarascon, desired the secretary of state to ask him, "*If, upon important and pressing affairs, he should give orders as he judged most proper for his service, as his majesty had often commanded him to do?*" In case his majesty wished he should do so, he begged him write so to him, as if from his own idea. The king did not fail to do as he desired, and wrote him a letter, dated the last day of June, in which he told him, that being constrained by the pressure of affairs and the state of the cardinal's health to leave him in Languedoc, his intention was that he should act in everything that concerned the state with the same authority as if he himself were present, and that, upon pressing occasions, he should proceed without waiting to consult him. The cardinal replied to the king, "That as he had never abused the honours he had pleased to confer upon him, he would in the same manner use the power his majesty intrusted him with with due moderation." We might almost suspect Jesuitical equivocation in this sentence; the world, which knew how he had abused his honours, might imagine the use he would make of the power.

The duke of Orleans had at first made a kind of general confession, in which he acknowledged he had had con-

nections with the grand ecuyer and the Duke de Bouillon, and promised to give the details to the cardinal; but the minister required these details in writing. The duke offered strong objections to this, but at length complied, and on the 7th of July wrote a declaration, in which he told all he knew. It is dated at Aigueperce, in Auvergne, where he had been permitted to stop, instead of going to Savoy. He basely consented to do everything required of him for the conviction of his friends of the conspiracy, upon condition of being allowed to live in the kingdom as a private individual, and without any train beyond what the king was willing to allow him. With the one slight exception of his firmness with regard to his wife, this was the never-failing practice of this weak man.* Indeed, that firmness may be better styled obstinacy, as it did not arise from an affection for the duchess warm enough to keep him faithful to her. "Monsieur," says Chavigny, in a letter to the Cardinal de la Valette, "is at present at Tours, where he is detained by a *petite inclination*: he appears to be very well disposed." Which was as much as to say, let Monsieur have his pleasure, and the cardinal might act as he liked. The *petite inclination* was the celebrated Louison of Tours, by whom he had a son he always refused to acknowledge. There is no doubt the cardinal and his emissaries threw such *inclinations* in his way, to keep him out of what they considered more serious mischief.

The Duke de Bouillon, upon learning that the duke of Orleans had confessed everything, admitted that he had conspired with the grand ecuyer for the dismissal, or even destruction, of the cardinal, but denied having con-

* Gaston was extremely punctilious, and once led the duke of Mombazon rudely down from an exalted dais upon which a noble party was dining, as being above his rank. The duke, though exceedingly irritated, only said, "I believe I am the first friend you ever assisted down from a scaffold, Monsieur."

sented to the treaty of Madrid. To institute the trial, and pronounce sentence upon the criminals, the cardinal, according to his custom, named commissioners, who came to the spot, and who went through all the necessary formalities. The chancellor presided, and the other members were Laubardement, De Marca, Meraumesel, De Paris, De Chazé, and De Sève, likewise king's counsellors and masters of requests in ordinary of his household.

Whilst this trial was being prepared, the cardinal, who was still at Tarascon, learnt that the queen-mother, his ancient benefactress and for many years the principal object of his hatred, had died at Cologne on the 3rd of July. This unfortunate princess had resided at Cologne for more than two years, in a state of degradation and distress to which few royal personages have been exposed; she not only was deprived of the honours to which she had been all her life accustomed, but even of common necessities. We cannot join with those who say Mary merited all her ill fortunes by her impetuosity and obstinacy. If we compare these qualities with the crimes of her oppressor, they become venial. She was born a princess, had been the wife of a great king and the regent of a powerful kingdom; what historians call the principal faults of her character were exhibited in opposing an ungrateful servant, whose ambitious views and unprincipled conduct must have been open to her, as they were plain to all the world but to his dupe the king. Her object was not to obtain a rank or a position that was not her due. Mary, with all her faults, did not want for strong intellect; she plainly perceived her son's incompetency for business; she had ruled him from childhood, and her domination naturally appeared to her more legitimate than that of a creature she had warmed in her bosom to sting her. It was a struggle for power between them, and proved the victory of art over passion. The protracted persecution of Mary de Medici by Richelieu is

a most curious passage of history, and a striking psychological incident in the study of man. His malignity must have flowed from an inexhaustible spring, for it never ceased; in addition to every other means kept in action for her recall, he had constantly to contend against the natural feelings of a son for his mother. Many instances are adduced to show the remorse, if not the affection, of the king. Louis having been tormented the whole of one night by a dream, which represented the distress in which his mother was and the reproaches she made him, awoke in a profuse sweat, followed by symptoms of fever. His physician informed the cardinal, who, without taking any notice of the matter, ordered a comedy to be represented before the king that evening, in which one of the actors was anxious to relate a distressing dream he had had a few nights before. Instead of listening to him, the other actors joked, rallied him, turned the whole story into ridicule, and at length shut his mouth. Louis, however, could not get rid of the effects of his dream, and told it to the cardinal. The minister coldly replied, that since he was rendered so uneasy by his mother's absence, he had better recall her; but he must remember that must be done honourably—by paying all the debts she had contracted among foreigners; and he would procure an account of them. The author who furnished this anecdote, says there is no need to tell the result of Richelieu's speech, such were the charms and sorceries he employed to keep the mind of the king in subjugation to his will. It is said that Mary pardoned Richelieu on her death-bed. We have very little faith in death-bed pardonings and repentances; we never could discern the efficacy of words pronounced by a powerless person at the dictation of a priest. Fabro Chigi, who became pope, under the name of Alexander VII., was present at the last moments of Mary, and exhorted her to pardon all her enemies, particularly the Cardinal de Richelieu; he even

endeavoured to persuade her to send him, as a sign of reconciliation, her portrait in a bracelet which she wore on her arm ; but the dying queen turned from him in an expiring flash of passion and exclaimed, "*E troppo !*" The very circumstance of her saying in the language of her infancy, "*that is too much,*" proves that the bitter feeling was not extinct at the bottom of her heart. The minister would, no doubt, have been proud of such a token to exhibit to his majesty, as a justification, beyond reply, of his conduct. The Father Chigi had the honesty afterwards to admit that he had required too much.

The cardinal ordered a magnificent funeral service to be performed for her ; as if, it was said, to make her a reparation after her death for the evil he had inflicted upon her whilst living. What an abomination in the eyes of God and man !—this splendid ceremony was the celebration of his triumph. The king showed much and sincere sorrow at learning the death of his mother. His own constitution was broken ; the seeds of death were not only sown, but were growing rapidly to ripeness ; and such are the times when early affections and impressions return with the greatest force. To satisfy the malice of an inexorable minister, he had sacrificed the feelings of nature, and left his mother to die in exile and indigence. Can we wonder, then, with all his imbecility and subserviency, that he looked with no kindly eye upon the man who had been the cause of all this misery ?

The residence at Tarascon proved beneficial to the cardinal, and the moment he was able to undertake the journey, he set out for Paris. But he was not sufficiently recovered to bear the fatigue of riding on horseback, or the jolting of the carriages and roads of that period, so he ordered a kind of litter to be made, large enough to contain his bed and all his conveniences, together with a table and chair for the accommodation of a person who was constantly to keep him company. But the great

Cardinal de Richelieu was not satisfied with ease and comfort ; Cleopatra, in her passage down the Cydnus, was not more studious of splendour and effect than was this dying churchman in this famous journey. He had subdued all his enemies—he was arbitrary master ; vindictive pride was one of his weaknesses, and he determined to exhibit himself to France, in a manner more Eastern than European. The litter was covered with damask, with the convenience of a waxed cloth, to be drawn over it in bad weather ; it was borne by eight men : the cardinal desired to have sturdy peasants chosen for this office, but his guards volunteered for the servile task, and carried him by turns, as the soldiers of Alexander once carried their beloved leader. Whatever might be the weather, the soldiers performing this duty were ordered to be bare-headed, at that season an almost insupportable inconvenience.* The litter being too wide to pass through the gates of cities, a portion of the walls of all the cardinal entered was taken down, which was likewise done with respect to the houses in which he lodged, and into which he insisted upon being borne in his portable chamber. Pioneers were sent forward to widen the roads where they were too narrow, and to level them where their roughness might create an uneasy motion in the litter. Thus this proud man travelled nearly two hundred leagues, entering every place, as it were, by breach : this was his triumphant progress, after having subdued his private enemies, and destroyed all the privileges of France.—And death followed the pompous litter, frequently raising his ready dart, and laughing at the “fantastic tricks” of his victim !

* The cardinal had not so much consideration for his soldiers as his master had for his courtiers. The duke of Orleans, with the pride of a little mind, took delight in keeping all bare-headed around him. On a very hot day, the gentlemen who stood uncovered on the steps of the carriage in which were the king and Monsieur, were fearfully annoyed by the burning sun. The king, observing it, said, with as much wit as good-nature, “Put your hats on, gentlemen ; my brother allows it.”

To return to the conspirators. Cinq-Mars, when conducted to Lyons, and examined, maintained that all that Monsieur had stated was false. He continued to be as firm in his denial, although he was otherwise much confused, when confronted with the Duke de Bouillon. The circumstance most embarrassing to the judges was their having but one copy of the treaty, which made it difficult for them to condemn Cinq-Mars without confession. They endeavoured to draw the truth from De Thou, whom Monsieur and the Duke de Bouillon asserted to be acquainted with everything except the league with Spain; but he persisted in saying that he knew nothing of all they asked of him, and that he had only been anxious to bring the Duke de Bouillon and Cinq-Mars together for purposes that were not at all criminal. It was deemed necessary to confront the duke of Orleans with the prisoners, but he implored the king so earnestly to spare him that shame, and declared so positively that rather than endure it he would fly to the end of the world, that, against all laws, his evidence was admitted as good, without confirmation, provided he answered to the interrogatories of the chancellor, in the presence of seven commissioners. Cinq-Mars, in the mean time, having shown an inclination to confess everything if his life were spared, the cardinal sent Lanbardemont to him, who made him the promise required, upon condition that he would speak the truth against De Thou, who, he was told, had deposed against him. He fell into this snare, and being interrogated on the 12th of September by the chancellor and the other commissioners, he confessed everything, and replied, with regard to De Thou, that the treaty with Spain had been communicated to him at Carcassonne by Fontrailles, but that he had exclaimed against that design, and had blamed it as strongly as possible. As for the rest, he had said more than once, that if he had not been restrained by the fear of injuring the guilty parties, he would


have discovered all to the king ; and he had earnestly endeavoured to divert the Duke de Bouillon from a design, which, on many accounts, he judged must fail. Shortly after, De Thou was brought forward ; he denied everything, but being confronted with Cinq-Mars, he made a full confession, only adding, that he had done what he had done to deter the grand écuyer from carrying out this enterprise, and that he had warmly reproached him for having gone to such an extremity without considering the consequences. Only being imperfectly acquainted with the affair, and having no proofs in his possession sufficient to convict criminals before the king, he had not, he said, thought it his duty to reveal what he knew about it, particularly as he was sure the conspirators were not in a situation to make success probable. De Thou confessed without being strongly urged, from his extraordinary fear of being put to the question, which horrid ordeal he could not have avoided if he had continued to deny the facts.

The king's procureur declared both guilty, and voted for death. All the judges agreed that the grand écuyer merited it for having entered into a treaty with the enemies of the crown. M. de Thou was also pronounced guilty of high treason, for not having revealed the treaty as soon as he became acquainted with it, and from the presumption that he had made it his business to unite the conspirators in an attempt against the welfare of the state. Only two of the judges were opposed to the sentence of death, and, on this occasion, Laubardemont took advantage of a law of Louis XI., by which all who knew of anything that was being practised against the state, and failed to give information of it, were declared guilty of high treason. They were condemned to have their heads cut off, in the Place des Terreaux, and the sentence was carried into effect on the very day, for fear the king, who had entertained a great affection for the grand écuyer, and who might be

touched by pity for De Thou, whose whole guilt consisted in not having betrayed his friend, should grant them a pardon. It was the cardinal's constant maxim never to destroy any one by halves, and he was determined to prevent the chance of the mercy of Louis by a prompt execution. His eagerness for the death of De Thou is hardly to be accounted for. The chancellor, who was entirely his creature, had employed the most extraordinary arguments to procure his conviction: "Think, gentlemen," he said, "what reproaches the king will make you if you condemn to death his confident, his favourite, whom he loved so tenderly, and save your own compeer, clothed in your own robe." As soon as the execution was determined on, the chancellor wrote to the cardinal from his desk in the court an account of all that had passed, and sent off his exempt, Picaud, with the message. Picaud came up with the travelling-chamber of the cardinal at two leagues from Lyons. We should have stated that the proud minister had travelled by water from Tarascon to Lyons, dragging the two prisoners in a boat fastened to the stern of his magnificent barge. "Well," said the cardinal, as Picaud entered his chamber, "what news have you, Picaud?" "Only," replied the messenger, "that M. le Grand and M. de Thou are condemned to have their heads cut off." At hearing this, the cardinal, though it was with great difficulty, could not refrain from rising from his chair, and exclaiming three times: "*M. de Thou! ah! M. le Chanceller has relieved me by that from a great burthen!*" Then he added, "*But, Picaud, they have no executioner!*" So eager was his thirst for blood, when put upon the scent! But what an exclamation for a Christian prelate, and in such a condition!

After the pronunciation of the sentence, all terrestrial weakness seemed to have abandoned both De Thou and Cinq-Mars; De Thou turned towards his friend with a smile, and exclaimed: "Well, Monsieur, humanly I

ought to complain of you : you have accused me, you have brought about my death ; but God only knows how I have loved you ! Let us die, Monsieur, let us die courageously ; and let us gain heaven together !” They embraced each other with great tenderness, saying, “ that since they had been such good friends during their lives, it would be a great consolation to them to die together.” When the chancellor had delivered his awful sentence, De Thou, like a man penetrated by a deep and affecting piety, exclaimed : “ God be blessed ! God be praised !” but Cinq-Mars, though he listened with proud composure to the sentence, was violently agitated when the judge came to the word, “ *question*.” He did not, he said, fear death, but he feared his own constancy under torture. After inflicting all the mental agony they could upon him, he was spared the physical ordeal, as the end was gained, and no more confession was necessary. The cruel policy of the cardinal would not allow them to choose their confessors : Father Malavalette, a Jesuit, was given to Cinq-Mars ; and the Father Montbrun, of the same society, was chosen for De Thou. The guards who had been placed over Cinq-Mars shed tears on quitting him, he being much beloved by the soldiery : “ Do not weep, my friends,” said he, “ tears are useless ; death had never any terrors for me.” Both evinced great courage and firmness on the scaffold, but in a very different, yet characteristic way ; which may be described, without one additional word, by their dress on this awful occasion. Cinq-Mars wore a nut-coloured suit, covered with gold lace, a black hat, turned up *à la Catalane*, green silk hose, white stocking drawn over them, bordered with lace, and a scarlet cloak. He persisted in wearing his plumed hat to the last, notwithstanding a discourteous attempt of one of the guards to remove it. De Thou was clothed in a deep mourning suit of black, and ascended the scaffold with his hat in his hand, and his cloak over his arm.



Romancers have thrown an interest over the death of these young men which we think will be lessened by examination. We are proud and happy to say that it is one of the features of humanity to regret seeing the young and promising cut off in their bloom ; our pity overcomes our sense of justice, particularly, as is the case in this instance, if we have a well-founded hatred for the party that inflicts the stroke. No one can doubt that they were guilty of an attempt to render themselves masters of the government by illegal means ; and we are equally convinced that if they had succeeded in their designs, the people would have been neither more happy nor more prosperous than they were under the iron rod of the cardinal. Neither Cinq-Mars, De Thou, the duke of Orleans, nor the Duke de Bouillon, had evinced abilities to prove that they were equally able to direct the foreign policy of the state as the experienced, though selfish cardinal. Richelieu knew that his own greatness must depend upon the greatness of the state he ruled, and, though his policy was tortuous, and continually embroiled him with other governments, when it became his personal interests to untie the Gordian knots of it, he generally proved himself equal to any one he might have to contend with. Neither the conspirators nor the king could have displayed skill or firmness equal to his. They were actuated by ambition, envy, and hatred, and not at all by a desire for the prosperity or peace of the people. If they had succeeded, the confusion, we can imagine, must have been great : Cinq-Mars was a vain, trifling, coxcomb ; De Thou was a visionary ; De Bouillon was an interested, not very brilliant, partisan ; Gaston was a weak, wavering, shuttlecock, to be played with by any one who ministered to his pleasures or fed his passions. Such were not the men to supersede even Richelieu favourably for France. But, we again urge, that although the cardinal stood above such as these, he was more than as far below the good and

the wise. If the king had pardoned De Thou, he would have gained the applauses of the whole kingdom, without the least offence against sound policy: but this prince seldom sinned by too much indulgence. The lover of justice principally blames the irregularities and despicable means that were had recourse to in this celebrated trial to secure condemnation.

The duke of Beaufort was known to have received a visit from De Thou, and the cardinal, in his eagerness to root out every part of the conspiracy, required the king to write to him, expressing his wish to see him at court. The duke replied that he knew nothing about the affair, but, as he likewise knew innocence was no safeguard against the minister, he not only declined his majesty's repeated invitations, but took an early opportunity of retiring to England.

The Duke de Bouillon was pardoned upon condition of giving up the city and castle of Sedan, which were annexed to the crown, leaving everything but life and liberty to the generosity of the king. This noble was pitied on account of his great loss of territory and property: but we cannot see that he was at all less culpable than Cinq-Mars and De Thou.

Thus the cardinal extricated himself from the last enterprise undertaken against him, gloriously for himself, and even advantageously for France. Although the enemies he had crushed were not exactly enemies of the state, as they could not ruin the minister without calling in the aid of the open national opponents of the kingdom, they were, with an appearance of justice, accused of high treason; all we quarrel with in this affair is the means employed.

The cardinal received the news of the death of Cinq-Mars and De Thou almost at the same moment that he heard of the capture of Perpignan; upon which he wrote a letter to the king, commencing with this sentence:

"Sire, your forces are in Perpignan, and your enemies are dead." Thus in one month, France became possessed of two places of the greatest importance, particularly in the event of any war with Spain. Perpignan secured Roussillon, and placed her in a situation to preserve Catalonia if she desired to do so; and Sedan closed the entrance into France against the Spaniards on that side; whereas, before, by gaining the Duke de Bouillon, which was not a difficult matter, they might enter whenever they pleased. The affairs of Spain, on the contrary, continued to progress badly. The new king of Portugal, John IV., was successful in his operations against the Spaniards both at home and abroad. The ministry of Olivarez, by its want of foresight and prudence, was destructive of the energies of that fine country, and the open discontent of several provinces and many of the higher nobles, by distracting the government, crippled its foreign operations. Amidst distresses of all kinds, the Spaniards had made incredible efforts to succour Perpignan; but it was remarked that, notwithstanding six months of unceasing exertion, they could only bring 30,000 men into the field. As a crowning misfortune, these arrived too late; the place had surrendered to Marshal de la Meilleraye, on the 7th of September, after suffering greatly from famine. But if there was a scarcity of food, there was none of the munitions of war; the French took possession of an arsenal capable of arming 20,000 men, horse and foot, of 120 pieces of cannon, and 3,000 quintals of powder.

As if the cardinal were doomed to leave France in a better position than her neighbours, the affairs of most of the other countries were, if not in a disastrous condition, in a state of serious trouble. France continued to have completely the advantage against the Spaniards: the Swedes were successful over the imperialists at all points,

and England was working out one of her great revolutions, and laying the foundation of her future prosperity. Richelieu often boasted that he had been greatly instrumental in fomenting the disturbances in England, and doubtless, he had not neglected so good an opportunity for annoying an enemy; but, as he died more than six years before the great catastrophe, he had not the satisfaction of witnessing that. It is not to be supposed that because he was the prophet of despotic authority in France, that he could have been the supporter of it in England; the only principle he acknowledged was expediency: therefore, the Calvinism he destroyed in France he upheld in Germany, and the liberty he annihilated in his own country he could, consistently with his policy, promote on the other side of the channel. As to the sacred principles of religion or liberty, he deemed them beneath the consideration of a great statesman.

We now approach the concluding scene of this eventful life. Although he had taken every imaginable care to re-establish his health, he had laboured under a species of languor ever since his return from Roussillon. The king being at Fontainebleau, in the month of October, the minister joined him there, though suffering from a slight attack of fever. From thence he went to Paris, where, summoning the councillors of state, he proceeded to the discussion of affairs which embraced the whole policy of Europe and the direction of all the energies of France, with his usual acumen, listening to propositions, like a man who had many years to live, and flattering himself with the certainty of making great and important conquests in a very few campaigns.

To divert his attention from the serious occupations which he began to feel insensibly affected his health, he conceived the fancy of having a strange kind of comedy represented in his palace, containing part of the thoughts

that occupied his mind. It was entitled *Europe*, the principal actress in it was a princess, bearing that name, and who had many lovers, all striving to gain her affections. The two most conspicuous of these were named *Ibère* and *Francion*, and the merit of the latter, in the end prevailed over that of his rival. Everything of importance that had passed from the opening of the war to the conspiracy of Cinq-Mars was introduced into this piece.

The king continuing to reside at St. Germain, the results of the deliberations of the council could not be conveniently carried into operation. The cardinal being anxious about the war measures, wished to remove this obstacle by holding the councils in the king's presence; but he could not persuade himself to join his majesty at St. Germain, which, he said, was too exposed a place, and not at all safe for him, on account of the king's guards, who were infected with the designs of the late grand écuyer. He proposed, therefore, to the king to come to Paris, or to go to St. Maur, or the Bois de Boulogne, just as one sovereign would act with his equal. After having seen that prince give up his favourite to his vengeance, and not dare to extend pardon to any one, for fear of offending him, he fancied nothing was too great for his merits, or that the king ought not at once to grant in his favour. He insisted upon his weak master's dismissing Tilladel, La Sale, Des Essarts, and Tréville, the captains of his guards, against whom he could urge nothing but that they had not been enemies of Cinq-Mars. He laid most stress upon the dismissal of Tréville, who he knew had been courted by Cinq-Mars, and who had replied that he would do whatever the king commanded. Being of an open and intrepid nature, he believed him capable of doing everything, if the king gave the word; and he became the object of his suspicion from having, on all occasions, refused to attach himself to any other person but his majesty. As Richelieu now more than shared the royal authority, and as

he knew his intellect and knowledge to be far superior to the king's, he imagined that everything in France belonged as much to him as to Louis XIII. But, in proportion as the French loved their monarchs, in the same proportion they hated the ministers who abused their authority; so, though the cardinal knew very well how to make himself feared, he was never able to make himself loved.

He, at this time, made such a request to the king as, we think, no other subject ever made to a prince. He desired that from that period, whenever he visited the king, his own guards should be introduced, and should mingle in equal numbers with those of his majesty. That prince, who believed that all the successes of his arms and his negotiations were due to the abilities of his minister, and who had been so long accustomed to yield to him in everything, received mildly a proposal from the cardinal, which, in any other person, would have constituted high treason. The artful minister, being perfectly acquainted with the disposition of his master, and anxious that he should be fully sensible of his value, passing from one selfish movement to another, affected next to withdraw from public affairs. He ceased to grant interviews to the ministers of foreign princes, for the purpose, as he gave out, of shortly abandoning the ministry altogether. The king, on hearing this speech, as the cardinal intended he should, was exceedingly annoyed, and dreaded the idea of his deserting a post, to maintain him in which he had brought down so many lofty heads, and committed so many injustices, that we doubt whether as many can be found in several reigns, as disgraced the eighteen years of his ministry. An affair likewise fell out, either by chance, or by the address of the minister, which served to increase his majesty's uneasiness on the subject. D'Estrade, who was at the French court, on the part of Frederick Henry, prince of Orange, said that his master ingenuously confessed having listened to propositions for a peace or a

truce, when he heard that the cardinal was leaving Narbonne, and the favour of the grand écuyer was increasing, from a conviction that when that minister had withdrawn from affairs, there could be no stability expected in the conduct of France. “The king was exceedingly struck with this speech, and the cardinal so delighted, that he wrote to the prince of Orange, six weeks before his death, in the following terms:—He (D’Estrade) will describe to you the gratitude I entertain for the favourable sentiments you express for me, for the concern you show for my health, and at the impediments which evil-minded persons have thrown in the way of the king’s affairs. I want words to thank you for the kindness you have shown me on these occasions, but I beg you to believe that I will lose no time to prove to you that I am truly, &c.”

The king could not, however, make up his mind to dismiss captains whom he knew to be warmly attached to him, and of whose fidelity he could not possibly doubt; but the cardinal, in order to force his consent from him, sent Chavigny to him, with a letter, in which he begged his majesty to allow him to retire from office. The king was so angry at receiving this message, that, contrary to his custom, he flew into a passion with the secretary, and forbade him to intrude upon his presence again. He even added, that the cardinal had several persons about him who were suspected by him, and extremely disagreeable to him, and it was but just that the minister should satisfy him by dismissing them; and he named Chavigny himself, and De Noyers. He also behaved very rudely to the latter minister, and was with great difficulty brought into good humour by Mazarin. But after quarrelling with his minister just as one private individual quarrels with another, he made it up in the same childish way, and sacrificed his most zealous servants to the caprice of the cardinal. He, however, permitted them to sell their commissions, and, in the mean time, ordered their lieutenants

to perform their duties, and that their pensions should be paid to them wherever they chose to reside. He even sent a gentleman to Tréville, to assure him that the king loved him as much as ever, and that absence would not diminish his esteem for him.

It is difficult to say if Richelieu had lived much longer where his arrogance and presumption would have stopped. The queen, upon paying him a visit at Ruel, was not received with even gentlemanly courtesy: he did not even rise from his fauteuil at her entrance; and instead of pleading his illness as an excuse, he told her she could not be surprised, as it was the custom in Spain for cardinals to keep their seats in the presence of queens. The queen, too much in dread of him to say all she felt, contented herself with replying that she had been accustomed so long to consider herself a Frenchwoman, that she had forgotten the usages of Spain. The king, however, was seriously offended at the cardinal's want of respect for her majesty.

The court being purged, as the cardinal's partisans said, of the rest of the factions, his authority appeared boundless; but nature soon reminded him that he was but a man amidst all his self-glorification; not only had the health of the king been visibly changed since the death of Cinq-Mars, but that of the cardinal declined still more rapidly. Towards the end of November he was attacked by a very serious pain in the side, attended with fever. He had been for several years annoyed by piles; and after a severe illness occasioned by them, a physician had imprudently entirely stopped them. From that time it appeared as if the too acid blood was thrown up to the superior parts; a tumour was formed on his arm, to subdue which both fire and steel had to be called in. He passed the year 1641 without much inconvenience; but the following year having closed the ulcer in his arm, the humour having lost that vent sought a fresh one, and

formed abscesses on his breast, which abridged his days. One of his biographers has the following remark upon this :—"It is often the fate of the great to be the worst served in all that concerns the cure of their diseases, because they are only accessible by courtiers ; and as courtiers understand no other profession but that of flattery, they cannot have good physicians." This remark is pertinent, but we should scarcely venture it on our own responsibility ; and yet a not very remote incident in the history of England somewhat strengthens it.

As generally happens in such complaints, he was subject to changes, and was sometimes better, sometimes worse ; the hopes of his relations and dependents rose and fell alternately, and joy and grief were by turns impressed upon their countenances. It is asserted that the manner in which the king had received his last peremptory requests, although he had at length complied with them, had made him as angry as if he thought his majesty was in duty bound to submit to everything he wished ; and it was even said that his excitement on the occasion so increased the pain in his side that he was obliged to be bled twice. On the 30th of November, which was a Sunday, the Holy Sacrament was put up in all the churches of Paris, to endeavour to obtain from Heaven the restoration of the powerful minister's health ; but these prayers of ceremony were not more efficacious than the interested vows of his relations. On the following morning he appeared better, and all who wished for his recovery began to think and to say that God himself took an interest in it ; but towards the close of the day their tone was sadly altered, for the pain and fever increased rapidly, attended with such difficulty of respiration, that his attendants could not leave him for an instant. On the 2nd of December there was a consultation of physicians, the result of which was a conviction that the cardinal had but a short time to live. The king, upon being informed

of his situation, paid him a visit, and spoke to him with much tenderness. Among many other things the cardinal said to him: "He took leave of his majesty, knowing that he was condemned shortly to pay the common tribute which all men owe to nature. He made this last adieu with the satisfaction which he felt in its entirety of never having done anything contrary to his majesty's service. He left France with a higher reputation than she had ever enjoyed; and her enemies, on the contrary, more humbled. He asked no other recompense of his majesty, for all his cares and labours, but the continuation of his royal protection to his relations, upon whom he would only bestow his benediction upon the condition that they would preserve an inviolable fidelity to their king. He lastly recommended his majesty not to change his ministers: they who were in the administration of affairs being experienced and able men, perfectly competent to the service of the crown." He joined to these other important instructions for preserving the greatness of the kingdom, which were never published, but which were not forgotten by his pupil and successor Mazarin. The king replied to all he said very kindly, and promised to protect his relations, with whom he had, he said, reason besides to be well satisfied. An attendant bringing the cardinal two yolks of eggs, the king took them and offered them to him with his own hand. After this he confessed to M. de Lescot, appointed bishop of Chartres, from whom he received absolution. He then asked the physicians how long they believed he had to live; and they replied, "that seeing him so firm they would not dissemble anything: they did not think his disease desperate, they must await the seventh day." Becoming, however, much worse towards the evening, he demanded the viaticum, and the curé of St. Eustache brought it to him. As he entered, the cardinal exclaimed:—" *There is my judge who will soon pronounce my*

sentence, and I implore him with all my heart to condemn me if in my ministry I have proposed anything to myself but for the good of religion and the state.”—He was so accustomed to confound the good he spoke of with his own greatness and authority that it is really to be imagined he deceived himself, and believed that all that was advantageous to himself was inseparable from the welfare of the state.—The next day at dawn he wished to receive extreme unction, and the curé having replied that it was not necessary—a man of his rank being allowed to dispense with the forms to which others were subject—he insisted upon being treated in the same manner as a common person. After having recited the principal articles of belief, he said, “*he embraced them with a perfect faith, and if he had a hundred thousand lives he would sacrifice them for the faith and the Church.*” Upon being asked if he did not pardon his enemies, he replied, “*that he did it with all his heart in the same manner that he implored Divine Justice to act towards him.*”—This pardon came a little too late, as he had destroyed or ruined the greater part of all who had been opposed to him.—He was asked if in case God should grant him longer life he would not employ it better for His service than he had done, to which he replied, “*May God rather inflict upon me a thousand deaths if he foresees that I should consent to a mortal sin.*” He recommended himself to the prayers of all present in a manner that affected them greatly; and a man who had passed his life in the most strict observance of the precepts of the Gospel could not have evinced greater confidence in God.

Although he had been given over by his physicians, and there appeared no chance of his recovery, an empiric from Troyes, named Le Fevre, being present, and having extravagantly boasted of we do not know what water and of some miraculous pills, the cardinal expressed a wish to try if this man did not know more than his regular

medical attendants. Before dinner he took some of his water and one of his pills, and appeared to be a little relieved. He, however, continued to take leave of all who approached him, with a firm voice and a serene countenance, as if he had not the least shade of fear or doubt upon his mind. The king paid him another visit in the afternoon, and again expressed himself with great feeling and kindness. Towards five o'clock he took another pill, and he fancied himself much better. On the morning of the 4th December, after having taken medicine, his fever seemed to subside, and his family flattered themselves he was out of danger ; but in a few hours he sunk into such a perfect state of weakness and exhaustion that it became very plain the awful scene was about to close. When this was perceived, a monk, named Father Leon, kneeling by his bedside, asked him if, being shortly to breathe the last breath of the life of which he was about to render an account to God, and drawing near to eternity with rapid steps, he did not wish to receive the last absolution. The cardinal having by a sign expressed his desire for it, the monk replied, that as the fluxion did not leave him the use of speech, he must join him in heart in all he said; and, as a sign of sincere repentance, he begged him to squeeze his hand; which he did. The ordinary prayers for the dying were then recited to him, and from time to time spoonful of wine were administered to keep up his strength. The cold sweats of death, however, seized him; and towards midday, whilst repeating *In manus tuas, Domine, &c.*, he gave up the ghost, without the least violence or struggle. He was in the fifty-eighth year of his life, the eighteenth of his ministry, and the ninth month of his illness.

When we reflect upon this close of such a life, we are convinced that one of two things, or perhaps a combination of the two, must have produced the extraordinary serenity with which he met the moment at which even

the most virtuous feel some degree of doubt if not dread. He must have been so perfect an actor as to enable him to play his part through with unflinching firmness, to the dropping of the curtain; or he must in conscience have been convinced that all he had done was right. Poets and moralists paint in vivid colours the death-bed of the wicked, and yet we seldom find that the closing scene of the wholesale murderer, the ambitious conqueror, or the corrupt and unjust judge, has afforded any impressive lesson to surrounding spectators or posterity. We do not learn that troops of his victims disturbed the last moments of Sylla; or that the spirits of the poisoned soldiery of Jaffa, of the Duke d'Enghien, or of the countless victims of the Russian expedition, surrounded the dying bed of Bonaparte. Ambition must throw a spell over its worshippers, that produces not only a total death to all feeling but selfishness, but likewise an abandonment of all impressions to which common humanity is subject. We, of course, speak of such deaths as leave the mind in the free exercise of its powers; where delirium or long prostration precedes the awful moment, it ceases to be a psychological question. The most awful death on record of a great criminal is, perhaps, that of Charles IX. But this man died as if he were taking leave of his friends for a pleasant journey, and left none but grieving and loving hearts behind him. His great support was *publicity*: had he died like his victim Mary de Medici, in indigence and privacy, with a monk agonizing the departing spirit with bitter recollections, and keeping alive unconquerable hatreds, instead of infusing soothing hopes, his mode of exit might have been very different. His chamber was full of observing ears and eyes; royalty ministered to his last wants; everything that there took place he knew belonged to history; he had played a conspicuous, and, in his own opinion, a glorious part. The actor was so completely possessed by

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his rôle, that the illusion supported him: he deceived himself as well as his spectators, and the Cardinal de Richelieu died with the placidity of a good man. Some devotees told the king seriously that his minister had died like a saint, and he repeated the account to Tréville, who was recalled the moment Richelieu had ceased to breathe. "If Richelieu gets to Heaven," replied the blunt gentleman, in his Gascon patois, "by my faith, sire, the devil must have allowed himself to be robbed on the road."

During his illness Richelieu often conversed with his niece, the Duchess d'Aquila. When they came to the last adieux, he forbade her expressly, but in affectionate terms, to accomplish the vow she had made to retire into a convent. She had been, as Madame de Cambale, the frequently employed tool of his ambitious views; and if his dying words were to be believed, he had loved her more than any other person. After Richelieu had taken the empiric's medicine, and was for a time a little revived, Desnoyers, most deeply interested in his recovery, ran to the king's apartment, crying with delight as he entered it, "Sire! sire! M. le Cardinal is resuscitated!" Louis, who had been informed by the physicians that recovery was impossible, did not believe the secretary, and evinced neither joy nor sorrow. Shortly after two persons came consecutively to announce to the king that his minister was dead. "*There is a great politician dead,*" said his majesty, coldly, to some of his courtiers. "This short funeral oration," says Anquetel, "contains all that can be said of him."

He had made his will at Narbonne on the 23rd of May; we think it only necessary to repeat the principal clauses of it. In addition to the Palais-Cardinal and some other things which he had given the king by contract, he left him eight suits of tapestry and three beds, to serve as a part of the furniture for the principal apartments of this palace, the hotel in front of it, of which he desired a

place or square should be made, and a sum of fifteen hundred thousand livres, which he said he had very serviceably employed in emergencies of state, and if he had not had this money at command, several important affairs would not have succeeded; which made him beseech his majesty to set aside this sum for pressing occasions, when he should have no other money in his coffers. He desired that his library should be preserved in its entirety, and that the Sorbonne should name three persons, of whom the Duke de Richelieu should select one, as librarian, with a salary of a thousand livres. He remembered all who had served him to his satisfaction, unless he had recompensed them in his lifetime. "When we compare his legacies and donations with the manner in which many princes have rewarded their servants, it appears as if we were reading the will of a king when we read his; and as if we saw those of private individuals, when we read the testaments of these princes. If he left immense wealth to his nephew Armand de Maillé, and his other heirs, we must confess that he had never exhausted the finances of the state to enrich himself, had scarcely ever allowed the royal armies to want for pay, or had neglected any favourable opportunity from unwillingness to incur expense—the ordinary faults of ministers of state." * Although we give this passage, we cannot agree with it; we only present it, that our readers may see other opinions besides our own. We think this abnegation of self is contradicted in almost every page of the same writer. Richelieu died at fifty-eight, after an administration of only eighteen years: in that time he lived sumptuously, indeed, royally; he converted the village of Richelieu into a flourishing town, he built the Palais-Cardinal, he established the Sorbonne, and he left countless wealth to his family as well as to the

* Leclerc.

king. During his reign the people were driven several times to despair by his exactions. How then can fair history attribute anything approaching to disinterestedness to his conduct?

His body was opened, and his death was found to have proceeded from the two abscesses; his lungs were likewise diseased, but his intestines were otherwise healthy. By a little remark of his most celebrated yet most partial historian, Aubery, we may learn with what precaution we must follow his account of his idol. *He says that the organs of the understanding were found to be double or triple*, without saying which part of the brain he supposes to be the organs of understanding; after which he adds, to that is to be attributed the vivacity of his mind, and the strength of his judgment. The body remained exposed four days in the habit of a cardinal, upon a bed of brocade. At his feet, on one side was his coronet, and on the other his ducal mantle. At the foot of the bed was a cross and many silver candlesticks, with lighted wax candles. On the 13th of December the body was conveyed to the church of the Sorbonne, upon a car covered with a pall of black velvet, crossed with white satin, upon which were his arms. This car was drawn by six horses with flowing furniture of the same kind. By the side of it walked his pages, bearing lighted white wax candles in their hands. An infinite multitude, in carriages, on horseback, and on foot, followed the body. On the 28th of January a solemn service was performed for him at Notre Dame, to which the representatives of foreign courts were invited in the following terms: "Noble and devout persons, pray for the soul of the most high, most powerful, most virtuous, most illustrious, and most eminent Lord, Monseigneur ARMAND JEAN DU PLESSIS, Cardinal de Richelieu, duke, peer, grand master and intendant of the navigation and commerce of France, one of the prelates and commanders of the order of the Holy Ghost, head of the council, and

principal minister of state of the king, for the soul of whom services will be performed and prayers put up in the church of Paris ; in which place, on Monday next, after mid-day, will be repeated the vespers and vigils of the dead, in order that his solemn funeral service may be there celebrated the following Tuesday morning, at ten o'clock." Another grand service was performed for him on the 14th of February, in the church of the Sorbonne, in which Isaac Hubert, the Theologal of Notre Dame, afterwards bishop of Vabres, pronounced his funeral oration.

Such was the death, and such were the funeral honours of the great Cardinal de Richelieu. Another volume would not suffice to lay before our readers the mass of materials left by contemporary and subsequent historians, in the shape of comments upon the life of this extraordinary man. The nearer the documents are to his own time, the more fulsomely laudatory and the more bitterly severe we find them. With all conspicuous characters who have had a strong influence upon their times, this must ever be the case. Mazarin was the pupil and successor of Richelieu ; for though the king eagerly recalled his personal friends whom the cardinal had insisted upon banishing, he retained the ministers he had recommended. Where so much was to be bought with flattery, little unadorned truth can be expected ; so Aubery, the most voluminous biographer of the cardinal, who wrote in the time of Mazarin, and published whilst Louis XIV. was carrying out that minister's policy, is, though looked upon for the course of events, the least to be trusted ; his book being only one extravagant eulogy. To counteract this, it may well be supposed that the death of the stern minister liberated a great many tongues and pens that quite as eagerly and loudly spread everything that could be collected in his dispraise. We are deceived if we think ours the age, *par excellence*, of political squibs, satires, and pamphlets ; we have newspapers, which circulate

public opinion in all its varieties; but we have nothing like the number of virulent party publications that were issued in the seventeenth century in both France and England. We will not affront our readers by producing the most violent of these, but we must, in order to make them better acquainted with the period, offer them two or three examples. The great Corneille had been deeply wounded by the cardinal's insisting pertinaciously upon having his "Cid" severely criticised by the Sorbonne. He did not dare to speak whilst his envious enemy lived; but at the death of Louis XIII. he wrote the following sonnet:—

EPITAPHE DE LOUIS XIII.

Sous ce marbre repose un monarque Français,
 Que ne saurait l'envie accuser d'aucun vice ;
 Il fut le plus juste et le meilleur des rois,
 Son règne fut pourtant celui de l'injustice.
 Sage en tout, il ne fit jamais qu'un mauvais choix,
 Dont long-tems nous et lui portâmes le supplice :
 L'orgueil, l'ambition, l'intérêt, l'avarice,
 Revêtus de son nom, nous donnèrent des lois.
 Vainqueur de toutes parts, esclave dans sa cour,
 Son tyran et le nôtre à peine sort du jour,
 Que dans la tombe même il l'oblige à le suivre.
 Jamais pareils malheurs furent ils entendus ?
 Après trente-trois ans sur le trône perdu,
 Commençant de régner, il a cessé de vivre.

[*Translation.*]

EPITAPH OF LOUIS XIII.

" Beneath this marble reposes a French monarch,
 Whom envy itself cannot accuse of any vice ;
 He was the most just, and the best of kings ;
 And yet his reign was that of injustice.
 Wise in everything, he never made but one bad choice,
 Of which he and we for a long time endured the penalty :
 Pride, ambition, interest, and avarice,
 Clothed with his name, gave us laws.

A conqueror everywhere, a slave in his own court,
His tyrant and ours had scarcely left the light,
Than he forced him to follow him to the tomb.

Were ever such misfortunes heard of?
After thirty-three years lost upon the throne,
And beginning to reign, he ceased to live."

With all due respect for Father Griffet, a great admirer of Richelieu, and the historian of Louis XIII., Corneille's portrait bears a strong resemblance to the cardinal, though it may not be a flattering one. We, however, are sorry to see the French Shakespeare, whilst truly describing the minister, obliged to give so favourable and ill-deserved a character of his master.

The next, however severe, is not so virulent as several others; it is excellent of its kind, and had such a reputation as to be attributed to the great Grotius, who was, as we have said, Swedish resident at the court of France. He denied the authorship, but such denials are not always to be accepted literally.

Adsta, viator, quo properas?
Quod nusquam videbis aut audies hic legitur.
Armandus Johannes de Plessis Cardinalis de Richelieu,
Clarus origine, magnus ingenio, fortunâ eментissimus,
Quodque mirere,
Sacerdos in castris, theologus in aulâ, episcopus sine plebe,
Cardinalis sine titulo, rex sine nomine, unus tamen omnia :
Naturam habuit in numerato, fortunam in consilio,
Ærarium in piculio, securitatem in bello, victoriam sub signis,
Socios in præcinctu, cives in servitute,
Amicos in obsequio, inimicos in carcere,
Hoc tamen uno miser, quod omnes miseros fecit
Tam sæculi sui tormentum, quam ornamentum.
Galliam subegit, Italiam tenuit, Germanum quassavit,
Affixit Hispaniam, coronavit Lusitaniam, cepit Lutheringiam,
Accepit Cataloniam, fovit Sueciam, truncavit Flandriam,
Turbavit Angliam, lusit Europam.

Poeta purpuratus
 Cui scena mundus, gloria stipurium gaza, charagium fuit,
 Tragicus maximè quàm fabulam malè solvit.
 Post regnum testamento suis distributum, paupertatem populo imperatam,
 Dissipatos principes, nobilitatem suppliciiis exhaustam,
 Senatum auctoritate spoliatum, externas gentes bello et incendiis vastatos,
 Pacem terrâ marique profligatam,
 Cum fatiscente corpore, animum gravioribus consiliis aegrè vegetaret
 Et nullius non interesset ipsum aut vivere aut mori,
 Jamque bona sui parte mortuus, aliorum tantum morte viveret,
 Derepente spirare desiit et timere,
 O fluxa mortalitatis !
 Quàm tenue momentum est inter omnia et nihil !
 Mortui corpus rheda extulit,
 Secuti equites, peditesque magno numero.
 Faces prætulerunt ephebi, crucem nemo, quia currus publicam ferebat :
 Denique hunc tumulum implet non totum,
 Quem tota Europa non implebat,
 Inter theologos situs ingens disputandi argumentum :
 Quo migravit sacramentum est.
 Hoc te, lector, volui, hic te metire,
 Et abi.

[*Translation.*]

Stay, passenger, whither hastenest thou ?
 Here mayst thou read what thou shalt neither see nor hear elsewhere.
 Armand John du Plessis Cardinal de Richelieu,
 Noble by descent, great in genius, most eminent in fortune,
 And, what thou mayst wonder at,
 A priest in camps, a divine at court,
 A bishop without a cure, a cardinal without a title, a king without a name,
 Yet one, who was all these :
 He had great natural abilities, Fortune in his counsels,
 The royal treasure in possession, safety in war, victory beneath his banners ;
 He kept his confederates within bounds, his countrymen in servitude,
 His friends in subjection, his enemies in prison ;
*In this only wretched, that he made all men so,
 Being as well the torment, as the ornament of his times.*

He subdued France, he terrified Italy, he shook the Empire,
 He afflicted Spain, he crowned Lusitania, he took Lorraine,
 He accepted Catalonia, he fomented Sweden, he mutilated Flanders,
 He troubled England, he beguiled all Europe :

A poet clad in purple,

Whose stage was the world, glory his curtain, the royal treasury his property—

His subject was, for the most part, tragic, the catastrophe melancholy.

Having appropriated the kingdom to legacies, bequeathed poverty to the people,

Dissipated the princes, exhausted the nobility with punishments,

Bereft the parliament of power, destroyed foreign nations with fire and sword,

Banished peace by sea and land ;

His body enfeebled, his mind harassed by restless thoughts,

And no one caring whether he should live or die,

A great part of his body mortified, and living only in others' deaths,

He suddenly ceased to breathe, and to be feared :

O the frail things of mortality !

How short is the moment between something and nothing !

The corpse was conveyed in a chariot, followed by horse and foot in great numbers,

Pages carried torches, none the cross, for the chariot bore the *public cross* :

This grave suffices for one whom all Europe could not satisfy.

He lies among the Sorbonists,

A mighty argument of dispute :

Whither he is gone is a sacrament.

Reader, this is all I would have with thee ;—

Hereby measure thyself, and begone.

This epitaph almost renders any further comment upon his character needless ; it is his life gathered into short expressive sentences, and, without reference to the Latinity, is worthy of the man to whom it is attributed. The student who wishes to refresh his memory with regard to the career of Richelieu has but to glance over it, and he will find the events reflected as in a mirror.

In person Richelieu was agreeable though thin ; he was of slender make, but of a good height. His constitution was delicate, and was still further impaired by his constant application. His understanding was prompt and keen, and, at the same time, penetrating and wide in its scope in all affairs of state. His judgment was more

subtle than profound in such matters. He could not endure injuries, and nothing was more agreeable to him than the vengeance he exercised in a stern, implacable manner. He was proud and choleric, although he affected affability and mildness in his address. He spoke with ease, and frequently with eloquence, although his style bore the evidence of too much study, and sometimes degenerated into verbosity. He was not eminently learned, as may be supposed, when we survey his busy career: there is no doubt such a man would, with application, have made a profound scholar; but his study was wider than the largest library: it was man, and in that knowledge few surpassed him. Whether he had acquired the great point of knowledge of the oracle, and *knew himself*, he was too great a hypocrite to let the world know; but we have great reason to think that the fumes of vanity and the visions of ambition deprived him of that rarest and most useful portion of acquired wisdom. In affairs of state he was bold and enterprising, and often ventured such rash measures as made his prudence and foresight doubtful; but in his personal affairs and dangers he was timid and suspicious, looking in all directions for safety, and ingenious in finding means for discovering it. No one was more cast-down by want of success, no one was more proud and insolent when he achieved it. He loved flattery so much, that the compliments offered to him could not be too hyperbolical.

In addition to a number of maxims attributed to this minister, some bad and some good, he is said to have had three worthy of remark, which he not only frequently named but constantly practised. 1st. In matters of great importance, he said, he had often found that the simplest persons supplied the best expedients; from which, he judged it was always best to seek advice. 2nd. He said that the resolutions he had formed in anger had always succeeded ill, and he had cause to repent of them; he,

therefore, at all times mistrusted such, although he was too apt to be led away by them. 3rd. He had often been heard to say that the great ought to be very careful not to keep in their chamber or about their person servants of a too sharp character; because, by the least word, or even by the least sign, they may betray, in spite of themselves, their most secret sentiments and their best-concealed designs." This last maxim savours very strongly of Richelieu, whose policy was of the back-stairs, more observant of ushers and intriguing women than of great statesmanlike views. We can imagine no greater contrast than a political lesson given to Louis XIII. by his minister Richelieu, and the celebrated conversation between Louis XIV. and Fénelon, after which the monarch exclaimed that "he had been conversing with the finest but the most chimerical mind in his kingdom."

The king's favourites, after De Luynes, such as Baradas and St. Simon, had contented themselves with the personal favour of the monarch, without interfering in public affairs; but the cardinal was no sooner in his majesty's good graces, than he took in hand the administration of everything. He was arbiter in all questions of peace and war, master of the finances, and dispenser of all the king's favours. He disposed of the strongest fortified places of the state, as well as of court employments; so that the highest and the lowest were equally solicitous for his patronage. But nothing could be obtained of him without perfect submission to his will and devotion to his service. He endured contradiction with much less patience than the king, even when he had to deal with sovereigns; as we may judge by the manner in which he treated the houses of Savoy and Lorraine, to say nothing of the queen, the queen-mother, Gaston, and the princes of the blood.

The king's partiality for him was frequently put to a severe test by his haughtiness and assumption, and at

length degenerated into fear ; he would have liked to be able to do without him, and yet nothing terrified him so much as the cardinal's threat of abandoning his post. The king was once so near dismissing him as to talk of depriving the cardinal of his guards, to which threat Richelieu coolly replied he was quite ready to obey his majesty on that as on every other occasion ; but that whilst the king employed him he must insist upon being able to live in quiet, and upon being guarded against the ambushes which the factious were always laying for him.

To prevent being overpowered by state affairs, to which his feeble constitution did not permit him to attend without intermission, he had certain hours of recreation, in which he would hear of nothing that required application. For this purpose he kept about his person the Abbé Boisrobert, who amused him with a thousand agreeable tales, and informed him of all the news of the court and city, calculated to make him laugh. Exercise was likewise necessary for the body as well as the mind ; and it was his custom, when much confined, to jump after dinner across the chamber he might be in, and mark his jumps against the wall. But he had a particular dislike to be found engaged in such amusements. One day M. de Grammont, who seems to have been as good a courtier as his namesake who made *les délices* of the court of our Charles II., and who was at home in the cardinal's palace, being a relation by marriage, came upon him unexpectedly whilst employed in this exercise. Richelieu looked a little confused at being caught in his doublet and hose, but the practised courtier was not for a moment at a loss. "Does your eminence call that jumping?" cried De Grammont, "why I can jump half as far again." To jumping they went ; Grammont not supporting his boast, but allowing the powerful minister to beat him each jump *by a little*.

We may likewise place among his amusements his love of

letters, which carried him beyond his proper province of the Mécenas into the more troubled regions of authorship. His dramatic effort of "Mariamne" not only proved a failure in itself, but, as was certain to be the case with such a man, created an envy and a jealousy for those who excelled him: the cardinal, who succeeded in most things he undertook, could not bear being surpassed as an author; hence his enmity towards Corneille. He wrote several works, particularly a book of theological controversy, more in keeping with his position, and obnoxious to less criticism than his poetical attempts. The celebrated political testament, published some time after his death, has been so ably proved not to have been his production, that we are compelled to reject it. At what period of his busy career could he have found leisure for such a work? It appears to us to be nothing but deductions from his policy, arranged by some clever admirer: it is something like an extension of Father Joseph's dying writing,—a line of action is strongly recommended after it had succeeded. There is one of his literary productions, however, which is too characteristic to be mistaken. During his quarrel with the queen-mother, and before he had overcome her, mistrusting a too faithful memory, the cardinal, when her every action was watched and her every word noted, daily set down in writing the information, the sayings, the reports which were collected either by himself, his friends, or his spies. These notes, kept in perfect secrecy and almost all written by his own hand, have passed down to posterity under the name of a "*Journal made during the great court storm,*" and form an odious model of the archives of police. His acknowledged works consist of,—

1. "The Principal Points of Faith defended against the writings addressed to the King by the Ministers of Charenton." Poitiers, 1617.

2. A Catechism entitled "Instruction of Christian Princes." Poitiers, 1621. This is highly spoken of,

has gone through twenty-four editions, and has been translated into Latin, in 1626; into Basque, 1626; and into Arabic, in 1646. It will be observed that this was published three years before he came into power, but the honours of translations followed in the wake of his political celebrity.


3. "The most easy Way of converting those who are separated from the Church." Paris, 1651. The cardinal was only the adopted father of this.

4. "The Perfection of the Christian." Paris, 1646, in 4to. This work has passed through several editions; it presented to the satirists of the time, some piquant comparisons between the maxims it contained and the conduct of the author.

5. "Memoirs of the Events of the Reign of Louis XIII." The fragments which were found among the papers of Mézerai, were attributed to that historian, and printed under the title of the "*History of the Mother and Son*," and under that of "The History of the Regency, &c." It was, with reason, judged that this writing was not worthy of Mézerai. In fact, the style does not at all resemble his, which is much more correct. It is now admitted, after long controversies, that the Cardinal de Richelieu is the author, not only of the *Mother and Son*, but of a series of memoirs upon the events of history. Prosper Manhaud, Leuglet, Dufresnoy, and Fonce-mange are satisfied of it. It was known that there existed in the dépôt of foreign affairs, some manuscript memoirs, corrected by the hand of the cardinal. M. Peitch has recently published an edition of this manuscript. The cardinal, who was anxious to acquire all sorts of celebrity, was not sensible of the value of a natural style; this is a heterogeneous production, in which there were many pens employed, particularly those of the two servile wits Boisrobert and Colletet. Still there are some portraits traced by a master hand, and some curious facts related,

which could only be known by a man initiated in state affairs, and admitted to the bosom of the royal family.

6. Is the famous "Political Testament of the Cardinal de Richelieu." The authenticity of this work was warmly disputed by Voltaire. Fonce mange took up the defence, and was backed by several able writers, particularly La Bruyère, who said, in his epigrammatic style: "He who achieved such great things, either never wrote at all, or must have written as he has done." The evidences in favour of the cardinal's authorship convince the writer of the article "Richelieu," in the "Biographie Universelle;" but we cannot say they make us alter the opinion we have expressed in the last page. If the manuscripts are clearly traced to his possession, it proves nothing; for every one knows the unscrupulous manner in which he attributed to himself all that might procure him honour. La Bruyère's epigram is equally valueless, for it is well known, that, with some few glorious exceptions, men who act much and greatly do not write equally remarkably; and the style of this work is totally different from Richelieu's undoubted productions. An English translation, published in 1694, entitled "The Political Will and Testament of the Great Minister of State, Cardinal-Duke de Richelieu; from whence Louis XIV., the present French king, has taken his measures and maxims of government," now lies before us, and it appears to be evidently rather the deductions from actions than a guide to them. If this work had been in existence when Father Joseph bequeathed his shorter system to the king, would the vain-glorious cardinal have instigated that document? It must be clear that at no period after that event the cardinal had leisure to write such a work, or even health and spirits to dictate it. All that we think possible is, that he might have employed writers to put the principles he had acted upon in the best light, and to give them to the world in such a form as might redound to his fame. We are glad they are pre-



served, as they prove, beyond dispute, the short-sighted, narrow, and selfish policy of the man with whom they are identified. We, who live now, know the probable results of such maxims of government, and value them accordingly. It is in vain to say they were the best that could be devised for the times, because we have only to look at England and Holland for a clear refutation of that opinion.

The 7th work is the Journal we have mentioned above, of which there are many editions,—that of Amsterdam, 1664, being the most esteemed.

For this list, we have taken the dates, and some of the opinions, from the “*Biographie Universelle*,” and we cannot leave that really great work without expressing our disappointment upon reading the article of “*Richelieu*” in its pages. It has too strong a Roman Catholic bias for any work that aims at being *universal*; and its recommendation of the history of Louis XIII. by Father Griffet, as the best source of materials for a life of Richelieu, at once, and too plainly, stamps their opinion of that minister: Father Griffet’s is laudation, not history.

Confidence in his own talents and in the superiority of his genius, made him aim at acquiring a reputation for everything; which, in his self-constituted judgment-seat of authors, gave birth to envy and jealousy for all who presumed to excel him or differ from him in opinion; and, let it never be forgotten, his jealousy and envy did not pass over like summer breezes. One of his most neatly expressed literary decisions was addressed to a M. Cospean, who had dedicated a Latin book to him. The cardinal, in return for the civility, as a minister who had not time to write long letters, sent merely these three words: *Accepi, legi, probavi*. He prided himself upon originating subjects for literary men, and once conceived that a dramatic piece would be best executed, if each of the five acts of it were written by a separate author. As may be supposed, the drama was a failure, but the authors were well remu-

nerated. Colletet, who contributed but little to this galimawfry, expressed his gratitude in a couplet.

Armand, qui pour six vers m'a donné six cent livres,
Que ne puis-je à ce prix te vendre tous mes livres ?

[Armand, who for six versas hast given me six hundred livres,
Why cannot I sell you all my books at the same rate ?]

He not only thought he did everything well, but that nothing was perfectly done except by himself: this led him into undertakings apparently foreign to his education, his knowledge, or his position. He was not only minister and cardinal, with the ambition of becoming patriarch of France, but he commanded armies in person, drew up criminal processes, and interrogated witnesses in person; he was master of the marine, and director of the commerce of the country. It cannot be denied that most of that which he undertook was done well, after the principle upon which he acted; but therein lies the grievance; if he had been an imbecile man who had attained power by chance, and committed blunders, we might have pitied and pardoned him; but there is no excuse for Richelieu becoming a curse instead of a blessing to France. His military taste was not particular to him as a churchman; his great predecessor Ximenes said, "that the smell of gunpowder in a field of battle was as sweet as that of incense;" and several cardinals and bishops followed his example during his ministry. One of the numerous squibs of the day said on this head:—

Un archevêque est amiral	De Bordeaux.
Un gros évêque est caparol	De Chartres.
Un prélat préside aux frontières.....	Evêque de Nantes.
Un autre a des troupes guerrières	Evêque de Mende.
Un capuchin pense aux combats.....	Le Père Joseph.
Un cardinal a des soldats.....	La Valette.
Un autre cardinal est généralissime ..	Richelieu.
Mais, France! je crois qu'ici bas,	
Ton eglise si magnanime	
Milite, et ne triomphe pas.	

He gave more encouragement to letters than they had

received since the time of Francis I.; the horrid reigns of the Medici, and the disturbed one of Henry IV. were not at all favourable for mental advancement. Fine editions of authors, both sacred and profane, were published by his direction at the press of the Louvre. He gave pensions to literary men who made their talents subservient to his views or caprices. Boileau ventured to tell Louis XIV. "that he understood making verses better than his majesty did:" but no poet would have been bold enough to tell Richelieu so. He established the Académie Française; but as a never-dying monument of the spirit of the founder, no one was (we do not know whether we can say *is*) admitted to one of its chairs without pronouncing his eulogy.

An opinion of such a man as Richelieu is not to be built upon a theory, it is founded upon facts. He destroyed an irregular second power in the state, by taking political influence from the Huguenots; he followed up the policy of Louis XI. by subverting the remains of feudalism; he secured valuable frontiers to France: and here we think his claims to greatness end. If, when he had achieved his principal objects, he had made them subservient to the interests of the nation, or had ever, by any action, evinced the least sympathy for the people, whose labour in misery furnished him with means, he might have been beloved whilst living and honoured when dead; but he did not, and therefore must he pass to all times as the finished type of a man whose views, carried out by unscrupulous means, were all directed to a selfish end. A comparison has been instituted between him and Louis XI., and with great reason: selfish policy and cruelty distinguished both; but Louis XI. has one advantage over Richelieu: he followed up his conquests over the nobles by making many useful laws for the people.

Richelieu is said to be the inventor of the system of the balance of power in Europe. The extraordinary power of

the house of Austria, consequent upon the chance which made Charles V. master of such vast territories, must naturally have led enlightened statesmen to form an idea of the necessity for it. But we cannot see anything so enlarged in the policy of Richelieu; his aim was the domination of France over other countries, not an equalization of the balance of power for the whole. A judicious modern French historian* expresses himself so well on this subject, that we cannot do better than quote his exact words: "Richelieu was not merely desirous that the European balance of power should be maintained, he wished all other nations to be humbled; and he is the true author of that violent and aggressive policy too well followed up by his successor Mazarin, Louis XIV., and in our days by a conqueror who will be famous to all times, and which makes the glory of a nation consist in the abasement and humiliation of all others: a policy always fatal in the long run, and a source of terrible re-actions and perpetual wars; for, the love of country, of independence, and national dignity, dwells in the hearts of all peoples. For them, as for individuals, liberty and honour are the most precious of riches; and, for a humbled or enslaved nation to accept a truce, or sign a peace, is only to postpone vengeance."

A striking resemblance is observed between Wolsey and Richelieu; their faculties, and the objects to which they were directed, were surprisingly alike. In pride, ostentation, and greediness, they are scarcely to be distinguished from each other; and it is, in addition, singular, that they should have left almost exactly the same memorials of themselves to their kings and to posterity. Richelieu was the more fortunate in dying in favour; but he had a very different master to manage than Wolsey had: Richelieu would never have remained for eighteen

* Bonnechose.

years the minister and ruler of headstrong, "bluff King Hal."

The great Turenne preferred Mazarin to Richelieu; but we think few will agree with him. Mazarin was but a weak, wavering copy of his instructor and patron. Mazarin, perhaps, was wiser than Richelieu would have been, in allowing Turenne to conduct a campaign; but there was a strength and vigour in Richelieu's character that Mazarin was greatly deficient in. The regency of Anne of Austria would never have been disturbed by the Fronde, if Richelieu had been at the head of her government; and we very much doubt whether Louis XIV. could possibly have acquired his strength of character under his tutelage.

Although Richelieu is said by his partisans to have patronized literature, France, during his time, scarcely kept pace with the rest of Europe. Descartes, Rabelais, Montaigne, Malherbe, Rortrou, had preceded him, and his great contemporary, Corneille, who will live when he is forgotten, instead of owing anything to his patronage, experienced the ill effects of his jealous hatred. Descartes had thought and written; but the rulers of France, no less than the people, were subject to the most abject superstitions. Richelieu caused Urban Grandier, the curé of Loudon, to be burnt alive for witchcraft; though many asserted that the witchcraft was only an invention of Richelieu and Father Joseph, to revenge a political satire attributed to the curé. But neither he, Mary de Medici, nor his familiar, seem to have been free from this low superstition. All were eager to look into the future, and were weak enough to believe that other mortals had faculties for that purpose which were denied to them. Astrology was believed in and respected; and one of its professors was present in the room with Anne of Austria when Louis XIV. was born, to observe the heavens.

Upon closing the life of Richelieu, comments might be

extended without end; but we have given as clear an account of his actions as our limits would allow, and upon them, and not our remarks, will be built the soundest opinion of him. Being extraordinary, and having procured military successes, the French are naturally proud of him, and have given him an importance which, as a great minister, we think he is scarcely entitled to. To the still greater character of a good man, he has no claim whatever. We have, in the course of our work, been under frequent obligations to Anquetil, and we cannot terminate it better than by his words: "Yes, his ministry *was brilliant, but oppressive*; and if to oppress a people can be called governing them well, Richelieu must certainly be esteemed the first minister in the world: nobody can dispute that title with him."

THE END.



